KTISTES/OIKISTES MYTHOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL FOUNDERS OF ANCIENT CITIES AND COLONIES

UNIWERSYTET JAGIELLOŃSKI
INSTYTUT HISTORII

ELECTRUM

Journal of Ancient History

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VOL. 32 (2025)

KTISTES/OIKISTES MYTHOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL FOUNDERS OF ANCIENT CITIES AND COLONIES

JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY PRESS

Electrum, vol. 32 (2025)

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Prof. Edward Dąbrowa

COVER DESIGN
Barbara Widłak

Cover photography: Silver tetradrachm of Hadrian from Tarsos, with Sandan standing on horned lion (cp. *SNG France* 2, n. 1407)

Niniejsza publikacja została sfinansowana ze środków Wydziału Historii w ramach Programu Strategicznego Inicjatywa Doskonałości w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim.

The publication has been supported by a grant from the Faculty of History under the Strategic Programme Excellence Initiative at Jagiellonian University.

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First edition, Kraków 2025

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Editorial office address:
Uniwersytet Jagielloński – Instytut Historii
ul. Gołębia 13, 31-007 Kraków, Poland

ISBN 978-83-233-5561-8
ISSN 1897-3426 (print version)
ISSN 2084-3909 (digital version)

The electronic version is the primary version of the journal Electrum (ISSN 2084-3909) published on the Internet on the website: http://www.ejournals.eu/electrum/

Number of copies: 220

JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY PRESS

www.wuj.pl

Jagiellonian University Press
Editorial Offices: Michałowskiego St. 9/2, 31-126 Kraków
Phone: +48 12 663 23 80, +48 12 663 23 82
Distribution
Phone: +48 12 631 01 97
Cell Phone: + 48 506006 674, e-mail: sprzedaz@wuj.pl
Bank: PEKAO SA, IBAN PL80 1240 4722 1111 0000 4856 3325

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Editorial Offices: Michałowskiego St. 9/2, 31-126 Kraków
Phone: +48 12 663 23 80, +48 12 663 23 82

Printed by Drukarnia Elpil

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Abbreviations

List contains only abbreviations the most frequently cited works. The journals *sigla* utilized are similar to the rules used in *L'Année Philologique* and those of the most popular epigraphic publications are used according to the rules of *Guide de l'épigraphiste. Bibliographie choisie des épigraphies antiques et médiévales*, ed. by F. Bérard *et. al*., 4th ed., Paris 2010, 19–20.

AE	–	*L'Année Épigraphique*, Paris 1888–
CIL	–	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
FGrHist	–	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischer Historiker*, Leiden 1950–
IG	–	*Inscriptones Graecae*
RE	–	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa *et al*., *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2nd ed., Stuttgart 1894–1980
SEG	–	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923–

Foreword

This issue of *Electrum* contains papers delivered during the international conference *Ktistes. Mythological and Historical Founders of Ancient Cities and Colonies. Memory, Mythography, Traditions and Representation*, held at the Institute of History of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków on September 25–26, 2023. The conference resulted from the research team's activity "The City and Other Socio-political Structures of the Ancient World."

Its organization and the publication of its proceedings were made possible thanks to the financial support from the Priority Research Area Heritage under the Strategic Program "Excellence Initiative." We want to express our gratitude to everyone involved in organizing this conference, especially the Dean of the Faculty of History of the Jagiellonian University, Prof. Dr. Stanisław Sroka, for the provided funding.

The Organizers

ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 13–25
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.001.21391
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Traces de mémoire, représentation, tradition, religion : un fondateur est né

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Abstract

Traces of Memory, Representation, Tradition, Religion: a Founder is Born
This paper dedicated to the figure of the founder hero aims to reconstruct the most widespread line of development in foundation accounts: probable traces of distant historical memories, through which the community chooses to represent itself, constitute self-identification and self-representation faced with the "other" element of the community-group, often through ethnic mechanisms. The community identifies and represents itself to the others in selected forms and so receives the sanction of religion, that the tradition will eternalize over the centuries through a deity whom the founder is linked to. The instrument by which therefore the community receives the religious sanction – but also ethnic, historical, and military sanction – on a territory that cannot be separated from it, at least ideally – is the founder hero for he is the common origin from which the common history of the city begins. By the blood of the founder and the link with the territory to which the community will be linked, there, the history of the community will begin and the founder hero will receive due honours, in particular through the religious rites and the sacred buildings dedicated to him (then, over time, the distinctive characteristics of the group will take form, fruit of a common life and history destined to last : the founder hero cult is a mark of essentialism).

Keywords: *ktistes*, foundation account, patterns, intentional history, ethnicity.

Ma contribution se propose de réfléchir sur le principal aspect des récits de fondation :[1] l'autoreprésentation du groupe – de tout le groupe-communauté de la polis ou d'un sous-groupe dans la communauté – face à l'« autre » à travers la figure du « héros fondateur ». Autoreprésentation signifie que le groupe construit ses propres origines à travers

[1] Je remercie *Monsieur* Edward Dąbrowa qui a voulu ce congrès ; il m'a contactée il y a longtemps pour l'organisation et m'a permis de parler à distance pour la correspondance des dates avec la 62ème Conférence d' Études sur la Grande Grèce à Tarente (CSMG 62 : « Parthenope e Neapolis: nuovi dati e prospettive di

des mémoires, une représentation, la tradition, la religion.[2] Dans cette auto-représentation la communauté, unie par le « héros fondateur », s'identifie (ou auto-identifie) et se représente aux autres et reçoit la sanction de la religion, que la tradition rendra éternelle au fil des siècles à travers une divinité à laquelle le « héros fondateur », toujours homme et non dieu,[3] est lié.[4] L'instrument par lequel la communauté recevra donc la sanction

ricerca »), où j'ai parlé des institutions de Naples, mais je me suis retrouvée à devoir éclaircir d'abord le lien entre les problèmes du débat institutionnel et les récits de fondation de la polis. Mon plus grand regret est que je n'ai pas eu la possibilité d'écouter les autres contributions et de discuter des sujets d'investigation avec les savants présentes. Je m'excuse auprès des autres intervenants.

[2] « On a remarqué depuis longtemps ce que le sentiment d'appartenance à un groupe devait à sa confrontation avec l'Autre. L'altérité, faisant surgir un sentiment de similarité interne, sert de socle à l'identité du groupe, phénomène 'qui fait que l'on se sent soi et que l'on se sait soi' [Ménissier 2000, 211] » (Bernier-Farella 2018, 349 n. 1).

[3] Réclamer la divinité comme fondatrice d'une communauté, dans certaines versions mineures, est généralement un moyen de sortir d'une complexe situation de conflit entre les factions, dans laquelle évidemment le dieu est au-dessus de tous et ne permet pas à un parti de prévaloir. Le choix survient dans des cas rares.

[4] Le fondateur, à sa mort, devient héros mais le héros fondateur est un personnage qui présente parfois de caracteristiques différentes des héros appartenants à d'autres catégories. La bibliographie sur la figure du héros, dans les religions des Grecs, est tout simplement infinie, depuis les anciennes études de Rohde 1890–1894 ; Usener 1896 ; Farnell 1921 ; Nilsson 1940 et Brelich 1958, jusqu'aux réflexions les plus récentes sur le sujet (entre les autres, voir les contributions dans Hägg 1999 ; Ekroth 2002 ; Ekroth 2007 ; Ekroth 2015 ; Kimmel-Clauzet – Muccioli 2021 ; pour la bibliographie la plus mise à jour, voir la collection dans Ekroth 2015, 394–396 et Kimmel-Clauzet – Muccioli 2021, passim) : le problème réside dans la relation entre le statut du héros, du dieu et sa mort, et sur cela on ne s'y attardera pas (ce n'est pas le lieu de s'y attarder). Il faut mentionner plutôt, parce qu'il se concentre sur le héros fondateur, Malkin 1987 ; il consacre la deuxième partie de son volume au culte du fondateur. Il tire la conclusion (189) que le culte ayant lieu chaque année sur sa tombe, généralement dans l'*agora* (189, 193), symbolisait la nouvelle identité de la colonie et par Hdt. VI, 38.1 argumente que les compétitions de gymnastique en l'honneur du fondateur étaient νόμος (191). En rappelant que la condition de l'héroïsation était que les funérailles soient célébrées πανδημεί, il appliquait cependant ces observations au tombeau du fondateur historique (195 sq.) avec un long examen de la documentation relative à la colonisation historique du VIII^{e} siècle (295–340), en associant la citoyenneté, c'est-à-dire l'appartenance véritable à une communauté religieuse et sociale, au phénomène de la création d'un *oikistes* pareillement dans les mères-patries sous l'impulsion des développements dérivées des colonies. En réalité, en raison d'une poussée religieuse, le processus qui conduit à la création du fondateur serait né dans les colonies au moment de la colonisation historique du VIII^{e} siècle. Il peut y avoir une raison religieuse pour laquelle le culte oikistique est probablement apparu d'abord dans les colonies (265), pour la nécessité peut-être de créer une relation avec le territoire de la nouvelle colonie. En conclusion, pour Irad Malkin le culte du fondateur serait, au temps de la création des colonies grecques du VIII^{e} siècle, imité par les mères-patries et les cités qui existaient auparavant (261–266 passim). Ces points, clairement discutés par les critiques ultérieures ainsi que la distinction dans les pages précédentes entre fondateur et ἀρχαγήτας – abstrus chez Malkin comme dans d'autres études – qui existent certes mais sont à évaluer de texte en texte selon les intentions de l'auteur, ne semblent pas acceptables aujourd'hui. Antonaccio 1999, 109 – même si son travail se concentre principalement sur la figure du fondateur historique – suscite la réflexion dans un résumé extrêmement éloquent : « The origins of Greek hero cult are considered in the context of overseas foundations, an integral and essential aspect of the much-studied manipulation of the past that took place during the 8th and 7th centuries BC. While hero cult and the foundation of sanctuaries in the colonial context have been explored, burial practices have until recently been relatively neglected. Tomb cult, which bridges the two areas of burial and cult ritual, is discussed as a strategy used in the colonies as well as the old communities of Greece, contrary to expectations. The role of the oikist as *archegetes*, a communal and indisputable ancestor, is contrasted to the function of the epic heroes both in the colonies and at home; it is argued, however, that the colonial founders' status is actually competitive with that of the *basileis* in the mother-cities, rather than shared; the oikists were often not aristocracts but the politically or socially disenfranchised who achieved their status in the unusual circumstances of the *apoikia* ».

religieuse – mais aussi ethnique, historique et militaire – sur un territoire qui ne peut être séparé d'elle,[5] – est le héros fondateur parce qu'il est l'origine commune à partir de laquelle commence l'histoire commune de la cité.[6] Par le sang du fondateur et le lien avec le territoire auquel la communauté sera rattachée, c'est là où commencera l'histoire de la communauté et le fondateur recevra les honneurs qui lui sont dûs, notamment à travers les rites religieux et les édifices sacrés qui lui sont dédiés dans des lieux différentes et sous de différentes formes selon les situations.[7]

Dans cette contribution je me retrouve à abstraire des *patterns* dans certains récits de fondation : je le fais après en avoir identifié quelques-uns qui reviennent fréquemment dans les histoires où l'attention des chercheurs n'a généralement pas élaboré la catégorie de « *patterns* de fondation ». Souvent, l'aspect ethnique y est inclus ; d'autres fois, il n'a rien à voir.[8] Mon raisonnement part de quelques réflexions suscitées par mes études sur de nombreuses fondations, et soulève une ou plusieurs questions auxquelles parfois j'ai pu deviner intuitivement une réponse possible, parfois non. Mais ces études m'ont surtout fait comprendre l'importance de la pluralité d'approches que le sujet demande.[9]

Commençons, dans l'ordre, par le sujet que le titre de notre conférence étudie : « Fondateurs mythologiques des cités et colonies anciennes » c'est-à-dire « le héros fondateur ». Qui est « le héros fondateur » à la lumière du parfait sous-titre « Mémoire, mythographie, traditions et représentation » ?

Il est difficile de donner un tableau complet des mécanismes de fonctionnement par lesquels dans les récits de fondation opère le fondateur, l'ancêtre de la communauté. Je commence en proposant deux exemples de l'Asie Mineure à l'époque de la migration ionienne.

Voir aussi, entre autres, Antonaccio 2001, 137 ; Morgan 2001 ; Antonaccio 1993 ; Antonaccio 1994 ; Antonaccio 1995. Pour la variété de héros fondateurs Farnell 1921 ; Pfister 1912, 447–448 ; Brelich 1958, 137 sq., partic. 139 ; Bernier-Farella 2018, 350–351 (Brelich 1958, 137 écrivait : « l'attività fondatrice non determina una particolare "categoria" di eroi, ma è caratteristica degli eroi in generale. La mitologia greca non conosce un particolare tipo di "fondatore". Se mai, tra i tanti eroi che più o meno frequentemente fondano città, si può distinguere un gruppo che è caratterizzato soprattutto [ma mai esclusivamente] da un suo atto fondatore »).

[5] Voir infra.

[6] Voir Polito 2015, 259–272.

[7] Voir infra.

[8] Je signale comme une excellente exception le traitement de Thomas 2019, 177–184.

[9] Les récits qui ont « construit » le héros ont été lus selon des approches profondément différentes au fil des siècles. L'exemple classique est celui des cités ioniennes d'Asie Mineure. Pour elles, Sakellariou 1958, selon une ligne traditionnelle, considérait les récits comme des répertoires de mémoires (sur les origines) appartenantes aux citoyens des siècles suivants, dans lesquels le savant aurait dû essayer de reconstituer les événements historiques de la migration et de ses participants. Prinz 1979 est parti de l'hypothèse inverse selon laquelle ces récits étaient de pures constructions de l'histoire, créées artificiellement, ayant des motivations précises à certains moments de l'histoire de la cité ou du groupe, et il a ensuite étudié comment les hommes ont construit, en fait souvent inventé, leur histoire, cette histoire dont le héros que nous étudions est le protagoniste. Aujourd'hui, avec la définition de « l'histoire intentionnelle », Gehrke 2010 nous a montré comment l'histoire de nos héros fondateurs est un ensemble de mémoires (voir Assmann 1997) et de constructions délibérées au fil des siècles, d'adaptations progressives. Il s'agit de combinaisons, structurées de génération en génération, de certains éléments réels avec d'autres créés *ad hoc* ou empruntés à d'autres traditions, en fonction des besoins de représentation du moment, souvent sous la pression d'apports ethniques, dont on ignore les premières formulations, les créateurs et les époques relatives (dans la bibliographie sur le sujet les points de référence restent Gehrke 2010 pour l'histoire intentionnelle, Hall 1997 et 2000 ; pour l'*ethnicity* Smith 1986, 122–129, les contributions dans Malkin 2001 et McInerney 2014).

Premier exemple : Milet

Deux éléments nous révèlent la représentation de certains contrastes ethniques à Milet. Le plus évident est constitué par la création, pour chaque récit de fondation, de nombreuses versions concurrentes attestées dans notre documentation : dans chaque récit de fondation nous voyons une version dont le protagoniste est un élément ethnique, et une seconde version, dont le protagoniste – par le même nom ou à travers un récit semblable – est un élément ethnique différent. Le héros Miletos est l'éponyme : chez Pausanias, dans les scholies d' Apollonios de Rhodes, chez Antoninus Libéralis et Apollodore il est crétois[10] – les Crétois sont classifiés grecs par les Grecs mêmes –; il est en revanche carien dans un lexique tardif, l'*Ἐκλογὴ Ἱστοριῶν*,[11] et chez l'historien local milésien Maeandrius.[12] Dans la dernière version mentionnée, il est cependant aussi l'autochtone (le personnage, né de la terre, plus loin duquel on ne peut aller) donc l'autochtone carien [*Ἐκλογὴ Ἱστοριῶν*] ; mais, chez Maeandrius, Miletos a un grand-père, Kleokos, enterré à l'intérieur du Didymée, le sanctuaire oraculaire pré-grec situé dans le territoire à douze kilomètres de la ville à laquelle il est relié par la Voie Sacrée. Ici, donc Miletos est éponyme mais non autochtone s'il a un grand-père. L'oracle du Didymée, lors de la guerre civile du VIe siècle, défendra la faction des Γέργιθες liée aux Cariens,[13] Mais chez Pausanias l'autochtone est plutôt Anax, qui a un nom grec, donc il est l'autochtone grec. L'ancien nom de la ville, Asteria, dérive, quant à lui, d'Asterios, la figure primordiale localisée dans des endroits différents des territoires grecs et asiatiques.[14] Dans l'île de Crète, selon Apollodore, Asterios est le mari d'Europe et le père de Minos, que le fondateur Miletos fuit pour aller fonder la polis de Milet en Asie.[15] Les ossements gigantesques d'Asterios, preuves de son statut héroïque,[16] se trouvent près de Lade, petite île devant Milet.

[10] Paus. VII.2.5 ; Ap. Rhod. I.185–188a, 23 Wendel ; *Schol. in Ap. Rhod.* I 185–188a, 23 Wendel ; Antonin., Lib. *Met*. 30 ; [Apollod.], *Bibl*. III.1.5–6. Chez Antoninus Miletos est le fils d'Asterios, hypostase de Zeus Asterios, étroitement lié au moment primordial, figure aux localisations multiples (voir Polito 2011, 85 nn. 77–78 ; Novello 2018). Dans Ephor, *FGrHist* 70 F 127 (Strab. XII.5.5) existe une variante, concernant toujours l'origine crétoise, où le fondateur est Sarpédon. Pour d'autres références, voir Sakellariou 1958, 363–364. Reconstruction complète dans Polito 2011, 83–88. Parmi toutes les différentes versions des sources répertoriées, le niveau de contamination par d'autres récits est très élevé. L'objectif de cette contamination est de repousser le plus loin possible la chronologie du fondateur pour lui donner le cachet de l'originalité (voir Polito 2011, 84–85, avec bibliographie dans les notes). Pour l'hypothèse selon laquelle Aristocrite devrait être ajouté à cette liste, voir Polito 2011, 86–88.

[11] *An. Par*., II.193.l.29 sq. Voir Momigliano 1932, 283 ; Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, 271–273, 305–306 ; Polito 2009, 201–204 ; Polito 2011, 88. *Contra* Sakellariou 1958, 365 et Jacoby, *FGrHist* IIIb : *Noten*, 244 n. 26.

[12] Maeandrius, *FGrHist* 491/2 F10 = *FStGr* F16 (Clem. Al., *Protr*. III.45. 2). Voir Polito 2009, 197–204. Pour d'autres traces du récit, voir Polito 2011, 90–91 avec notes.

[13] Hdt. V.28–29 ; Heraclid., fr. 50 Wehrli (Athen. XII.26.523f–524b) ; Plut., *QG* 32 ; *Suda, s.v.* Γέργηθες, γ189 Adler. Voir Mazzarino 1947, 88 ; Faraguna 1995 ; Gorman 2001, 101 sq. ; Talamo 2004, 18–32.

[14] Voir Polito 2011, 85 e nn. 78–79 avec bibliographie précédente ; Novello 2018.

[15] Paus. I.35.6; VII.2. 5–6 ; *Schol. in Ap. Rh.* I 185–188a, 23 sq. Wendel.

[16] Voir infra.

Deuxième exemple : Colophon

*L'*ἀρχαιολογία colophonienne,[17] la plus ancienne histoire de la cité, peut être divisée en quatre niveaux, qui sont à la fois chronologiques et ethniques.[18] Ils peuvent être identifiés dans les moments suivants.

1. (premier niveau) *Ab initio* tout au long de la γῆ il y avait les Cariens.
2. (deuxième niveau) Alors qu'ils en détenaient encore la possession, les Crétois arrivent avec Rakios,[19] et s'installent dans la zone côtière, exerçant un pouvoir basé sur les navires, tandis que les Cariens restent dans la plus grande partie de la χώρα.
3. (troisième niveau) Puis arrivent les Thébains (ce sont les Cadméens, les prisonniers que les Epigones Argives victorieux après la prise de Thèbes consacrèrent au dieu de Delphes et l'oracle les envoya fonder une colonie[20]) : entre ces Thébains (Cadméens) Manto, fille de Tirésias, est prise comme épouse par Rakios, le roi local, et les Thébains qui étaient avec elle sont accueillis par les Crétois comme σύνοικοι. Le fils de Manto et Rakios, Mopsos, chasse complètement les Cariens de la γῆ.
4. (quatrième nivaeu) Enfin les Ioniens arrivent, prêtent serment avec les Grecs de Colophon, et concluent un accord qui prévoit que la royauté sera confiée aux codrides Damasikton et Prometos.[21]

Bref, ceux qui revendiquent la fondation de la cité et éventuellement du sanctuaire de Claros, sont les Cariens, les Crétois, les Thébains et les Ioniens.

Le récit colophonien doit être lu dans l'ensemble de l'*excursus* ionique de Pausanias.[22] Dans ce texte, il s'inscrit parfaitement dans la lignée des autres membres de la

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[17] Paus. VII.3.1–3.

[18] Polito 2018, 22–25.

[19] *Schol. in Ap. Rhod.* 1308b, 35 sq. Wendel, après avoir rapporté les hypothèses étymologiques du nom Klaros évoquées par Théopompe (*FGrHist* 115 F 346) et Néarchus (*FGrHist* 133 F 29), passe à l'histoire de οἱ τὴν Θηβαίδα γεγραφότες (*Epigonoi*, fr. 3 Bernabé) : Manto, fille de Tirésias, aurait été envoyée à Delphes par les *Epigonoi* comme ἀπαρχή du butin, après la destruction de Thèbes et, selon l'oracle du dieu, en sortant du sanctuaire elle aurait rencontré le mycénien Rakios et l'aurait épousé ; elle serait venue à Colophon et là, découragée, elle se serait mise à pleurer pour la destruction de sa patrie ; le nom (Klaros) de ce lieu viendrait des larmes de Manto. En discutant du désormais très daté Immisch 1889, part. 141–146 (résumé dans Polito 2018, 23 n. 18) et en utilisant la lecture de Sakellariou 1958, 146–172, 278–279, 345–348, 398–401 et Prinz 1979, 16–34, montre combien la tradition est solide et d'accord sur la consécration de Manto à Delphes par les *Epigonoi*, mais il diverge ensuite sur la suite de l'histoire et propose qu' un historien local (déjà indiqué comme source par Sakellariou) avait tiré la première partie, consolidée, de l'épopée ; dans la seconde, pour laquelle il y avait plusieurs variantes mythographiques, disposant de l'histoire que nous lisons aujourd'hui dans le *scholium* d'Apollonius de Rhodes, il transforma Rakios, de Mycénien qu'il était, en Crétois. Cette transformation aurait un objectif précis : la création d'une phase crétoise a permis une connexion harmonieuse entre l'*Urgeschichte* de la ville et sa population pré-grecque puisque pour les Grecs les Crétois sont souvent les premiers Grecs à occuper une place. Pour la tradition sur Rakios, voir Apollod., *Bibl*. III.7. 2–7 [80–95] ; D.S., IV.66.3–6; *Schol. in Ap. Rh.* I 308b, 35 sq. Wendel. Pour les variations sur le nom du mari de Manto, voir *Schol. in Nic. Alex.* 11.34 Geimonat (Bacchiades); *Schol. in Nic. Ther.* 958, 321 Crugnuola (Zograios) ; Strab. XIV. 5.16 et Tzetz., *in Lyc. Alex.* 881, 285 Scheer (Apollon) ; Apollod., *Bibl*. III.7.2–7 [80–95] (Alcméon).

[20] Sur la δεκάτη humaine payée au dieu comme ἀπαρχή voir Moggi 1995 ; Mari 1999.

[21] Polito 2018, 22–25. D'une manière différente, les savants à partir de Sakellariou 1958 reconnaissent généralement cinq niveaux, puisqu'ils séparent Manto, la mère, fondatrice du sanctuaire, de Mopsos son fils, dont ils connaissent l'activité guerrière par rapport à la cité : voir Polito 2018.

[22] Paus. VII.2. 1–5, 13.

dodécapole: 1) dans sa continuité et son unité, 2) dans sa structuration par phases chronologiques et ethniques en même temps, 3) dans les processus qui agissent dans cette structuration, c'est-à-dire dans les mécanismes qui se cachent derrière le texte, et qui dans leur ensemble semblent conduire à une manière précise de voir la nature ionienne et l'histoire des douze cités, celle du récit de l'autoreprésentation des Ioniens du Panionion dans sa version athénocentrique du VI^e^-V^e^ siècle av. J.-C.[23] Par exemple, l'ascendance codride des Ioniens appartient à cette vision ; quand elle fait défaut, il y a la reconnaissance de la nature ionienne à travers l'auto-attribution d'un peuple à un roi codride (chez Paus. VII.3.3 : *Colophon* ; VII.3.10 : *Phocée*) ;[24] on voit la tendance à effacer, ou au moins à réduire, la présence de l'élément Carien/Lelegien[25] préexistant qui dans les récits ionien est représenté comme exterminé ou expulsé par les envahisseurs et à donner une représentation de l'élément ionique comme celui qui procède à l'élimination physique ou à l'expulsion des Cariens (Milet, Éphèse, Samos, Mious, Priène, Lebedos, Chios).[26]

Il faut dire que parfois une communauté est fondée par un *oikistes* qui a le même nom mais en lui attribuant une origine ethnique différente, et nous trouvons les mêmes noms appliqués à plusieurs personnages d'origines et d'époques différentes. Ce sont des appropriations. Mais ces tentatives d'appropriation se produisent parfois au détriment de la véritable polis fondatrice, à travers l'élaboration, par d'autres cités ou factions internes à la colonie, de traditions mettant en jeu des héros fondateurs qui leur appartiennent, pour s'approprier l'acte fondateur et exercer leur influence sur la colonie à un moment particulier des relations entre les cités. Les raisons sont multiples et le phénomène va de l'époque archaïque à l'époque hellénistique et se poursuit tout au long de l'époque romaine. Ensuite, au fil du temps, les caractéristiques distinctives du groupe prendront forme, fruit d'une vie et d'une histoire communes destinées à durer.

Les deux cas qui viennent d'être proposés ne sont que des exemples, tirés de la Ionie asiatique, de mécanismes qui agissent lorsqu'une communauté doit construire la figure et l'histoire de son fondateur pour affirmer son identité, besoin d'autant plus fort lorsque la communauté se trouve en difficulté par rapport à l' « autre ». Dans Pausanias, notre principale source sur la plus ancienne histoire locale de ceux qui seront un jour membres de la dodécapole, la population d'Ionie est présentée dans une perspective diachronique, comme un « phénomène stratifié et dilué dans le temps, projeté avec son extrême dans l'Antiquité la plus reculée et réalisé par des immigrations d'origines diverses, qui se sont en quelque sorte greffées sur un substrat indigène ».[27] Le résultat de la *Périégésis*, pour la plupart des cités ioniennes, est la reconstruction d'une ἀρχαιολογία caractérisée par l'arrivée répétée et progressive d'un nouvel occupant ou fondateur, qui de temps en temps remplace l'ancien – ou dans certains cas le rejoint –, jusqu'à l'arrivée du roi ionien, le

[23] Polito 2016 ; Polito 2017, 174–175 n. 24.

[24] Talamo 2015, 215–216 ; Polito 2016, 169–172.

[25] Sur le travail de recherche historiographique et de comparaison avec les sources locales de Pausanias voir Musti – Beschi 1982, xxxvi–xlii ; Musti 1984, partic. 9 sq. ; Habicht 1985, 95 sq. ; Bultrighini 1990, 305; Lafond 1991, 35–40 ; Moggi 1993, partic. 401–418 ; Chamoux 1996 ; Moggi 1996, partic. 83, 86, 93, 96, 105 ; Musti 1996, partic. 15–16, 20 ; Modenesi 2001, 4–7 ; Pretzler 2007, 74–77 ; Bultrighini 2016, 10 ; Di Mauro 2016, 17–19, 77, 87 sq. ; Polito 2018.

[26] Pour des exemples d'autres mécanismes et modèles de fondation en Ionie asiatique, voir Polito 2017 ; pour les formes prises par les relations grecques/non grecques de cité à cité, voir Thomas 2019, 177–226, passim.

[27] Moggi 1996, 101 ; voir aussi 92–97, 100–102.

fondateur « définitif » dans une sorte de processus finaliste,[28] qui deviendra bientôt le seul « héros fondateur » dont la communauté se souviendra. Le mythographe mène son enquête historique pour couvrir la période antérieure. On verra que l'attribution de caractéristiques héroïques au fondateur est un acte naturel car il est une figure humaine et concrète, caractérisée par des qualités supérieures à l'homme mais il est homme et, en même temps, il est plus qu'un homme, il est lié à la divinité et à sa volonté (c'est sur ordre du dieu que le *ktistes* accomplit les rites prescrits et part vers le lieu indiqué en quelque sorte par le dieu lui-même), gage de protection et de pouvoir. À la lumière de tout cela, je définirais un « héros mythique de fondation » simplement comme le protagoniste d'un *récit de fondation*, que nous venons de définir en termes très différents qu'un récit d'où nous pouvons tirer des éléments sur la fondation historique d'une communauté. Dans nos différentes langues nous utilisons de différentes termes : *récit de fondation* ; *foundation account* ; *racconto di fondazione* ; *ktisissage.* L'expression anglaise – *foundation account* – est ma traduction préférée parce qu'elle souligne mieux que dans les autres langues le travail de sélection et de réduction, d'arrangement en système, souvent fabriqué artificiellement, pour créer l'*account*.

Le « héros fondateur » est un personnage qui peut prendre plusieurs aspects : il peut naître de différentes manières. Il peut survivre dans les souvenirs des descendants de la communauté plus ou moins modifiés au fil du temps, par faiblesse de mémoire ou par volonté explicite, collectés pour construire et perpétuer son histoire aussi loin que la mémoire arrive et remplis d'une manière ou d'une autre là où la matière manque. Mais les caractéristiques du « héros fondateur » peuvent être aussi collectées par une communauté en formation : un ou plusieurs groupes, qui quittent les lieux où ils résidaient auparavant et décident de se fusionner en une seule communauté, choisissent de lui reconnaître le rôle de figure fondamentale, l'origine partagée de la communauté naissante dans le récit de leur histoire, maintenant devenue unique. Ils se reconnaissent tous en lui (*self-adscription*).[29] Mais le « héros fondateur » peut naître aussi d'une communauté ou d'une faction qui par besoins de survie ou de compromis, à travers le pouvoir évoqué par cette figure cherche une défense de l'élément « autre », même si cette figure est placée dans le passé. Le fondateur est une figure du passé, il est la personnification concrète de l'origine, mais ses os et ses reliques constituent une protection éternelle pour le présent et pour l'avenir.[30] De même, à travers la croyance largement répandue du pouvoir de protection et d'assistance du « héros fondateur », la communauté puissante et agressive peut faire de son fondateur l'instrument et le garant de son propre pouvoir, donc le moyen idéal universellement reconnu pour prendre le dessus sur les autres et sur leurs traditions quand une tradition devient un instrument de l'affirmation de soi sur les autres.

Jean-Luc Lamboley terminait ses *Conclusions* au colloque international « Héros fondateurs et identités communautaires dans l'Antiquité entre mythe, rite et politique » à l'Université de Grenoble Alpes en mai 2017, en disant : « L'étude des héros fondateurs nous enseigne […] que l'identité communautaire est un choix, une construction jamais terminée et toujours à refaire, donc toujours contemporaine : ce ne peut être que l'histoire officielle

[28] Mongiello 2017, 210–211 ; Polito 2017, 186–187.

[29] Barth 1969, 13–15 ; Talamo 2015, 170 sq. ; Polito 2016, 169–172 : voir infra.

[30] Voir, entre les autres, Ekroth 2007, 110 sq. ; Coppola 2008, 15 sq.

d'une mémoire collective […] qui dépend de choix politiques ».[31] Je dirais non seulement politiques: nous avons vu combien d'autres éléments peuvent influencer à tout moment.

Maintenant j'entre dans une réflexion dangereuse. Je ne veux pas présenter ici de manière simpliste une question extrêmement difficile et controversée comme celle de la reconnaissance de l'appartenance ethnique, mais, en partant des pierres angulaires les plus largement reconnues et discutées, susciter quelques réflexions. Pour les « essentialistes » (ou « primitivistes ») un peuple est la combinaison de sang et histoire :[32] le culte du fondateur est pour les « essentialistes » entre les *markers* qui révèlent la présence du groupe ethnique.[33] À divers égards, dans le débat entre essentialistes et instrumentistes, je suis avec les premiers.[34] Nous parlons ici des héros fondateurs des communautés po-

[31] Lamboley 2018, 632.

[32] « Consanguinity refers to a notion of kinship that uses blood as a metaphor. Again, this is to be found in antiquity: Homer uses the word 'blood' (*haima*) to express kin relationships, and Herodotos enumerates blood as one of the criteria of Hellenic identity » (Hall 1997, 7). « It was once thought that ethnicity was a transient phenomenon. This had much to do with the substitution of an 'instrumentalist' view of ethnic groups for one that was 'primordialist'. Put briefly, the primordialists consider ethnicity (along with religion, race and territory) to be a basic and natural unit of history and humanity. Ethnicity is merely an extension of kinship and the normal vehicle through which common goals might be pursued. As an historical 'given', it is frequently granted a deterministic role: Max Weber, for instance, regarded ethnicity as having played a decisive part in shaping the patterns and directions of economic forces in ancient Israel, China and India, as well as in the Protestant kingdoms of the Reformation period. The instrumentalist view, on the other hand, considers that ethnic groups exploit the symbol of shared, ancestral association to mask their real purpose the pursuit of political and /or economic interests. According to this stance, ethnicity 'serves purposes other than the cultural goals which its spokesmen proclaim to be its raison d'être'. For historical purposes, the persistence of the ethnic group cannot be assumed, since it is likely to emerge and disappear in tandem with the fluctuating claims to power advanced by competing interest groups. Furthermore, instrumentalists tend to regard the appearance of ethnicity as a fairly recent phenomenon. […] There have been some attempts to reconcile these two opposing points of view. Smith has pointed to ethnicity's 'mutability in persistence and its persistence through change', and Bentley, drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's 'theory of practice', has argued that while the members of an ethnic group may unconsciously inherit an ethnic habitus (a system of strategies for ordering experience and informing action), they are equally capable of modifying that habitus instrumentally in the pursuit of various goals […]. The instrumentalist view, on the other hand, considers that ethnic groups exploit the symbol of shared, ancestral association to mask their real purpose the pursuit of political and /or economic interests. According to this stance, ethnicity 'serves purposes other than the cultural goals which its spokesmen proclaim to be its raison d'être'. For historical purposes, the persistence of the ethnic group cannot be assumed, since it is likely to emerge and disappear in tandem with the fluctuating claims to power advanced by competing interest groups. Furthermore, instrumentalists tend to regard the appearance of ethnicity as a fairly recent phenomenon. […] In fact, the opposition between primordialism and instrumentalism is not simply one of intellectual fashion. It is the primordialist view of ethnicity that is more likely to be held by members of an ethnic group, particularly an ethnic group which perceives itself to be threatened. The reason for this is obvious: if members of an ethnic group do not regard their ethnic heritage as primary, there is unlikely to be much of a basis for cohesion. Conversely, instrumentalism is more frequently the viewpoint of one of two groups: either outsiders, such as anthropologists, or alternatively groups within the state whose identity is not especially threatened» (Hall 1997, 17 sq.). Essentiellement, aux fins de l'argumentation de cette contibution, le véritable point en discussion est le fait que la position des essentialistes (ou primitivistes) met au premier plan la continuité de l'ethnie, destinée à perdurer dans le temps sur ses fondations et pas à être épuisée par la disparition des besoins du moment qui ont conduit à son émergence. Les études les plus récentes semblent aller au-delà ou éluder la question : voir les contributions dans McInerney 2014.

[33] Smith 1986, 122–129 ; Hall 1997, 25 sq., 32.

[34] Étant entendu qu'une des deux théories opposées ou une des médiations intervenues dans les développements ultérieurs ne peut être acceptée dans son ensemble. Voir Hall (qui a fourni, dans le volume de 1997, une synthèse claire des positions des deux lignes) et sa bibliographie.

léiques, mais si nous observons une image générale des récits de fondation de chaque cité, il y a de nombreux points communs avec l'ancêtre du groupe ethnique. En étudiant le « héros fondateur » je crois qu'on peut retrouver, avec un peu de souplesse, que les *markers* d'un groupe ethnique, dont le « héros fondateur » d'une cité devient également le porteur même en l'absence de contrastes ethniques,[35] ont la même fonction : identification / autoidentification / *self-ascription* d'un peuple en lui-même ;[36] la capacité de transmettre son sang et par son sang donner la garantie d'appartenance au lignage. Les *markers* d'un groupe ethnique dans la version la plus détaillée de Antony D. Smith, comme on le sait bien, sont : *a collective name, a common myth of descent, a shared history, a distinctive shared culture, an association with a specific territory, a sense of solidarity* ;[37] dans la version plus synthétique de Jonathan Hall ils sont réduits à deux seulement , *an* « *association with a specific territory* » and « *a shared myth of descent* »,[38] qui toutefois englobent tous les autres non mentionnés, parce qu'ils en constituent les prérequis.

Le sous-titre de notre congrès « Mémoire, mythographie, traditions et représentation », dans une synthèse extrême sous une forme très précieuse, anticipe une conclusion : mémoire et représentation font le récit du héros fondateur, de son voyage et son implantation; la tradition de génération en génération ajoute ses apports, puis vient l'histoire locale[39] et enfin le recueil, par la mythographie, de ce qui reste des mémoires et des textes qui ont été fixés dans la tradition et dans la *Lokalgeschichte*.

Le rôle joué dans la tradition par ce type de sources est fondamental parmi toutes celles qui ont été conservées des récits de fondation ou de leurs fragments (l'œuvre du mythographe, le collectionneur d' « histoires ») : le mythographe par sa propension va chercher ce type d'« histoires », il recherche particulièrement les « histoires » ayant ces figures de fondateurs pour protagonistes, et – même si leur chronologie souvent basse favorise les erreurs, les inexactitudes, les confusions et les assemblages – il conserve des versions secondaires ou des récits totalement omis dans la grande littérature ou histoire. Naturellement, le savant moderne a pour tâche de vérifier, autant que possible, toutes les divergences et de distinguer les erreurs du mythographe des variantes des traditions.

Beaucoup des participants à la conférence auront quelquefois fait la même réflexion que moi, chacun pour les domaines ou figures qu'ils ont étudiés. Quant à moi, depuis

[35] Les quatre premiers points du résumé des conclusions de Hall clarifient le concept sans faire place au doute : « 1. Ethnicity is a social rather than a biological phenomenon. It is defined by socially and discursively constructed criteria rather than by physical indicia. 2. Genetic, linguistic, religious or common cultural features do not ultimately define the ethnic group. These are symbols that are manipulated according to subjectively constructed ascriptive boundaries. 3. The ethnic group is distinguished from other social and associative groups by virtue of association with a specific territory and a shared myth of descent. This notion of descent is putative rather than actual and judged by consensus. 4. Ethnic groups are frequently formed by the appropriation of resources by one section of the population, at the expense of another, as a result of long-term conquest or migration, or by the reaction against such appropriation » (Hall 1997, 32). D'ailleurs déjà à 25 sq. le savant a pris des positions claires: « If the ethnic group is a social, rather than a biological category, what distinguishes it from other social groups, Anthony Smith identifies six characteristics: a collective name; a common myth of descent; a shared history; a distinctive shared culture; an association with a specific territory; and a sense of communal solidarity. Not all of these features, however, need be exclusive to the ethnic group […] ».

[36] Barth 1969, 13–15 ; Talamo 2015, 210 sq. ; Polito 2016, 169–172.

[37] Smith 1986, 122–129.

[38] Hall 1997, 25 sq., 32.

[39] Voir Thomas 2019, 100 sq.

plusieurs années, j'ai étudié en profondeur et publié des *foundation accounts* (Ténède,[40] Herakleia Pontica,[41] Milet,[42] Mious,[43] Colophone,[44] actuellement j'étudie Naples)[45] et j'ai reconstruit des hypothèses de succession des récits des cités ioniennes d'Asie Mineure dans le VII[e] livre de Pausanias.[46] J'en ai tiré des conclusions assez claires. Je viens de souligner le travail d'élaboration, de sélection, de réduction, d'arrangement en système, réalisé pour créer l'*account* : j'ai dit que *foundation account* met en lumière le travail de sélection et de réduction, d'arrangement en système, réalisé pour créer l'*account*. C'est toujours le même processus qui agit à travers les mêmes mécanismes. On peut noter l'existence d'un *pattern* derrière le récit qui construit un fondateur et son histoire (le « récit de fondation »). Dans le monde grec les contrastes habituels entre factions politiques et ethniques urbaines d'origines différentes ont souvent produit – en constante évolution dans l'histoire – un grand nombre de versions, avec des fondateurs et des peuples différents qui les suivent : ce sont des textes qui circulent et nous, les historiens modernes, nous devons comprendre pourquoi à un moment donné une certaine faction a choisi une version, afin de comprendre son désir de créer des liens avec quelqu'un ou de se détacher de quelqu'un d' autre ou pour obtenir un autre objectif, et, si un tel travail semble réussi, nous pouvons essayer par conséquent de comprendre les temps de création de chaque version. Le « héros fondateur » donc n'est donné ni par la mémoire ni par l'écriture historique, littéraire ou mythographique, mais il est le résultat d'élaborations conflictuelles dans la polis –parfois avec une base historique, parfois sans – qui deviennent les « constructions de l'histoire ». Cela s'applique naturellement beaucoup plus rarement aux communautés qui ont des fondations solides et incontestées dans l'épopée ou dans la réligion. Et c'est pour cela que moi, qui ai étudié les autres, je vois plutôt dans le « héros fondateur » l'image que je viens de tracer. C'est comme dire que le « héros fondateur » n'existe pas, que le « héros fondateur » est le produit au fil du temps d'une construction de l'élaboration de la cité ou de la prévalence d'une version sur les autres.

Même dans ces termes, toutefois, il existe pour les Grecs un « héros fondateur », avec des caractéristiques différentes d'une cité à l'autre, mais des caractéristiques communes à l'ensemble du peuple grec. D'où vient-il ? Son pouvoir, croit-on, vient principalement de ses ossements et de ses reliques, placés non sans raison au cœur de la structure urbaine de la polis ou à ses frontières : le premier cas est le lieu de célébration le plus fréquent, l'*agora*, ou quelques édifices publics importants ; le deuxième est le lieu de la défense – par exemple dans les villes d'Asie toujours en conflit avec les barbares à confiner à l'intérieur des terres ou à contenir lorsqu'ils viennent attaquer.

Alessandra Coppola a écrit (je cite en ma traduction littérale) : « Le héros [fondateur] est un mortel exceptionnel, il dispose de prérogatives extraordinaires qui sont souvent

[40] Polito 2005 avec examen et investigation des versions attestées.

[41] Polito 2010 avec examen et investigation des versions attestées.

[42] Polito 2011 avec bibliographie, examen et investigation des versions attestées.

[43] Polito 2014, 543–547, avec examen et investigation des versions attestées et sur les mécanismes opérant depuis le Haut Archaïque jusqu'à la période hellénistique tardive et romaine.

[44] Polito 2018 (voir supra).

[45] La recherche est en cours. Les travaux ont commencé en Polito (sous presse).

[46] J'ai aussi suivi les études de ces récits dans de nombreuses thèses de doctorat que j'ai dirigé : par exemple voir Novello 2021 (http://elea.unisa.it/handle/10556/6464) qui va être publié.

encore renforcées après sa mort. Le héros grec est toujours entre mythe et histoire, il est un contact concret avec le passé et est lui-même le passé. La présence d'ancêtres mythiques dans les arbres généalogiques les plus illustres indique le désir de se connecter avec un personnage extraordinaire, mais aussi la perception de son caractère concret historique, de son existence dans un espace temporel définissable. C'est pourquoi un contact tangible entre le présent et le passé est physiquement donné par les objets appartenant aux héros, traces de leur passage et de leur existence même ».[47] La différence entre le dieu et le héros fondateur réside, comme je l'ai déjà mentionné, dans la présence physique du héros à travers ses reliques, sur le territoire de la cité. Elles sont un signe tangible de sa présence, elles enracinent la communauté qui se rassemble sur le territoire, elles sont un point d'ancrage pour la communauté. Ramener chez soi les ossements du « héros fondateur » c'est rendre sa présence physique à la communauté.[48] Quand la communauté va au combat, les dieux peuvent la protéger, mais sur le terrain les hommes trouvent leurs héros fondateurs se battre à côté d'eux.[49]

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[47] Coppola 2008, 9–15.

[48] Il suffit de penser, pour Athènes, à Cimon qui ramène les ossements de Thésée à Athènes (sur les ossements de Thésée voir Ekroth 2010) et, pour Sparte, à la tradition selon laquelle l'oracle de Delphes guidait un Spartiate les retrouver afin qu'elles puissent être ramenées à Sparte. Voir Boedeker 1993 ; McCauley 1999.

[49] Voir, parmi les autres, les traditions sur la bataille de Marathon Plut. (Thes. 35, 8) ; sur l'invasion des Galates à Delphes (Paus. X.23. 2).

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 27–47
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.002.21392
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

The Oikist Cult: Literary Tradition and Archaeological Evidence. Mythical Founders and Heroic Kings as κτίσται

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Abstract

The colonisation phenomenon and the oikist cult are topics that have been extensively investigated. Specific elaboration processes of narrative plots have contributed to the construction and dissemination of foundational narratives, that appear to be influenced by the mythical-legendary memories transmitted by literary traditions, eventually flowed into historical sources. Concerning the figure of the founders and their important symbolic role in the sphere of cultural memory and collective identity of a community, this contribution focuses on two case studies. The first refers to a legendary mythical founder of literary memory, the siren Parthenope, who helped define the memory and cultural identity of the two settlements linked to this foundation logos. The second case study focuses on some archaeological evidence, such as the mega tumulus of Macedonian royal tombs, that seems to echo some specific styles of "heroic" burials. These peculiar funerary customs of the burial context would seem to suggest that some heroic patterns were deliberately used at the service of the representation of dynastic power legitimacy, conforming to the heroic style of Homeric kings.

Keywords: Oikist cult, mythical founders, ktistai, heroic kings, Homeric kings, Parthenope, sirens, Neapolis, Macedonian dynasty, Aigai, Vergina, Tumulus, Sema, Philip II.

The foundation of cities in the ancient Greek World is a topic that has been analysed from a multipolar perspective.[1] Its influence is founded on several centres of interest converging in a sum of historical, religious, cultural and political factors—rooted in several poles of development, irradiation and impact—which have composed the complex framework of multicultural interactions of the ancient world.

[1] See Calame 1990; de Polignac 1995; Hall 2006; Malkin 2009; Mac Sweeney 2013; and the contributions on the Greek city in Flohr – Zuiderhoek 2024.

Nevertheless, in spite of historical sources—that offer the opportunity to deepen the complex process of Greeks and other populations' mobility—the foundation phenomenon appears to be firmly grounded on a collective memory that sometimes seems to take shape through myth and legendary traditions: the echo of ancient collective memory still survives in literary sources. The epical account is often considered by several studies as a mix of both historical and legendary traditions. In fact, it is possible to claim that the narrative device anchors the community to a dimension—that is distant in time—to create an instrumental background to the subsequent historical reality.

In this regard, it has been emphasised that: "Traditional approaches to foundation myths, therefore, have tended to consider them as a form of historiography, locating them at the intersection between myth and history."[2] Thus, if we consider ancient literature as "a ritualised administration of memory,"[3] it is possible to define myth as a sort of device that is capable of putting the words of its account together with the images evoked by its narrative thread, because—as it has already been stressed out—: "The myth anticipates the competition in mnemotechnics between writing and image. […] With somewhat different accents, they both define mnemonics as imagination, as a combination of the experience of order and the invention of images. Images as representatives of things, *res*, and names, *verba*, to be remembered are registered in preordained spatial arrangements and deposited in imaginary spaces such as temples, public places, spacious rooms."[4]

As a matter of fact, the elements of doubtful historical authenticity contained in the legendary and mythological tradition of foundation myths should be considered as cultural documents; their success determines the prevalence or extinction of the transmitted legendary tradition. As argued by Birgit Neumann: "[…] it becomes apparent that the appropriation of the past is also limited by conditions of medial dissemination and that the question as to whose memory versions will prevail in the fight for historical definitional power depends on the memory-cultural effectiveness of the specific medium of memory."[5]

Therefore, it would not be so unreasonable to emphasise how in ancient Greece myth and literary tradition of collective memory should be considered as peculiar constituents of cultural identity.[6] In this regard, it is worth recalling how the most recent studies on collective memory tend to define it as: "The interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts."[7]

However, of equal importance are literary traditions that, according to the opinion of some scholars, were considered emblematic of the so-called colonisation phenomenon, such as foundational myths, that constituted a prehistory of contacts between Greeks and non-Greeks. Thus, it could be assumed that the narrative also supports the transition from myth to rituals. To quote Giuseppe Zanetto's beautiful expression: "In archaic society, myth is the compass of individual and collective behaviour: everything that is done in the *polis* acquires meaning and relevance to the extent that it finds correspondence—and thus confirmation—in a mythical tale; and this correspondence must be socially marked,

[2] Mac Sweeney 2015b, 4.
[3] Zanetto 2019, 11.
[4] Lachmann 2008, 302.
[5] Neumann 2008, 339.
[6] Fariello 2021a, 73.
[7] Erll 2008, 2.

through ritualistic preaching mechanisms."[8] These legendary narratives may have contributed to the formation of a new hybridised identity along with the evolutionary path of transcultural relations and exchanges: these contacts took on an intercultural character in the context of concrete coexistence, in the same geographical area, with the indigenous substratum of the *apoikiai*.[9] In this complex narrative, historical and social aspects of cultural interaction appear to be founded on a "legitimacy discourse."[10]

In his studies dedicated to collective memory, Maurice Halbwachs brought under this label a wide variety of aspects, from myth to historiography, from rituals to monumental structures.[11] Moreover, collective and social aspects of cultural memory shape the relationship among human groups—within the framework of historical-mythical contents and their elaboration and transmission—in a field where different disciplines such as history, sociology, psychology and history of religions can interface.[12] It has been emphasised that, concerning the processes of formation and consolidation of human and social groups, collective memory can be considered as a device that can provide the possibility of constructing memories that are suitable for the continuation of collective history of a specific social reality, where the community bond that defines the peculiar identity of a political entity needs to be reinforced.[13]

Collective memory can be constituted by the sum of historical and mythical-legendary contents, often re-elaborated in literary tradition, that also becomes a fundamental identity symbol for a specific culture or civilisation. In fact, it could be possible to affirm that epical narrative represents the community: poems become an instrument to portray the significant moments of community life. It is a shared view that within the Homeric tradition, the *Odyssey* could be considered as a poem about colonisation, because it contains numerous references to the experiences of the *apoikiai*.[14] Thus, the narrative tradition could be identified as a tool to capture the perception of the ancient world. These foundational tales—or explanations—somehow anticipate the later historical tradition that finds a grip in historical and archaeological sources. Explicit references in these literary narratives recall the history of city foundations. A prominent example can be found in Book 6 of the *Odyssey* describing the founding experience of Scheria: Phaeacian king Nausithoos led his people away from the areas inhabited by the dangerous Cyclops and settled in the new city. As a perfect οἰκιστής, he built the walls around the city, took care of land distribution and established the division between residential areas and sacred spaces, where he erected temples in honour of the gods (Hom. *Od*. 6. 7–10). In this regard, it is worth emphasising the peculiar function of narratology that links memory to identity through its powerful representational techniques, acting as independent agents capable of conveying meanings. The importance of these narrative communication techniques that express

[8] Zanetto 2019, 8–9.

[9] Fariello 2025a.

[10] See Mac Sweeney 2015a.

[11] Halbwachs 1950.

[12] Erll 2008, 1–2.

[13] Assmann 2008, 109.

[14] Malkin 1998; Dougherty 2001. See also the most recent observations on the chronology of the *Odyssey* by Vincenzo Di Benedetto (2010, 73), for whom in the Homeric poem "the phenomenon of colonisation is presupposed."

the great value of memory representation has led to the emergence of the concept of "semanticization of literary forms."[15]

The search for new lands and the foundation of new *poleis* were carried out performing a series of recurring ritual behaviours to give birth to symmetrical cultural contexts, aimed at reflecting the image of the Greek motherland in both cultural and cultic spheres.[16] The foundation of the *polis* was determined *ab initio* by the first sacred act: the oikist was supposed to consult the oracle to be personally designated as "founder." Consequently, the oikist was invested by a supreme religious authority over the future territorial space of the colony. The divinatory activity of *manteis* was a peculiar constituent of the foundation process, and the transfer of the sacred fire, from the public hearth of the mother city to the new colony, sanctioned a sacred and indestructible symbolic bond. In the foundation process, the religious aspect was absolutely fundamental: the *polis* identity was concretely and symbolically granted by a series of sacred elements such as sanctuaries, sacred spaces and cults associated with religious calendars. These components had a crucial importance, because the definition of cultic forms founded a new social order and a peculiar sense of citizenship. Foundations of new *apoikiai* were sometimes handed down through legendary narratives that spilled over into the dissemination of myths: the exploits of Heracles in Sicily or the Argonauts in the Black Sea provided further inspiration for the creation of sanctuaries and the calendrical regulation of cults. Memory had a central role: the link with the founding act of the colony was granted by the heroic cult of the oikist.[17]

Cults consecrated the *ktiseis* of new *poleis* ensuring their development. Boundary myths connected Greek *apoikoi* with the local cultures. The myth of Heracles is representative of the mythical *logos* relating to the creative processes responsible for the dissemination of legends that provided a historicised account of the Greeks' encounters with other different local realities where they settled.[18]

Heroes like Heracles could be defined as cultural mediators, especially in the new territories of the *eschatià*, on the periphery of the anthropised world: the heroic protection of the guardian hero (*polissouchos*) was not only a historical symbol, but also a concrete expression of the colony identity appropriation process.[19] Moreover, in the heart of the urban space, the community celebrated cults and erected monuments to the mythical and royal founders of the *polis*, while in the frontier spaces, extra-urban shrines were established to demarcate the distinction between the native inhabitants of the *chora* and the

[15] Neumann 2008, 333.

[16] Fariello 2025a.

[17] Malkin 1987, 1.

[18] On the figure of Heracles as bearer of Hellenic culture, see Martin 1979, where the characterising aspects of the cult of Heracles in Sicily are explored. On the socio-cultural interpretation of the myth of Heracles as a metaphor for Greek colonisation, with particular reference to his adventures in Sicily in the various mythographic variants, see Giangiulio 1983; Jourdain-Annequin 1988–1989; Capdeville 1999. On the figure of Heracles as a symbol of "acculturation" and as a "righteous murderer," see Gentili 1977. Cf. finally the contributions in Congiu – Micciché – Modeo 2017.

[19] Malkin 1987, 1. See also Lepore – Mele 1983. In this regard, François de Polignac already emphasised that the foundation myths of numerous sanctuaries and cities organised a veritable enactment of a kind of staging, in which heroes of Minoan-Mycenaean origin, Argonauts and Homeric heroes acted. See de Polignac 1995, 114–115.

citizens of the *polis*.[20] Therefore, in the Greek world, the oikist assumes traits and peculiarities that may differ depending on the specific case of foundation.

The oikist can be a historical or a mythical figure anchored in a legendary memory. However, in both cases, the founder acts as a cohesive element in the social sphere, because he reinforces the identity of the *polis*; his cult, as a commemorative ritual, accentuates the sacred character of political power and the ἀρχή of the city's rule.[21] The *ktisis* memory becomes a narration at the service of local history, where legendary elements are mixed with historical reality: all becomes not only a collective cultural identity memory, but also a religious aspect. The religion operates as a cohesive element within the community relational sphere of the city: "The religion of the *polis* was a collective religion, a religion which unified and provided a bond which held the community together."[22] Furthermore, the oikist cult is also an expression of a cultural memory and thus a "collective concept for all knowledge that directs behaviour and experience in the interactive framework of a society and one that obtains through generations in repeated societal practice and initiation."[23]

As the scientific literature on the subject has already explored, precisely because a cult was dedicated to the oikist, the phenomenon of colonisation has often been analysed in connection to its relationship with religion. The community restores its bond with the oikist with his worship: he is not only celebrated as a founder, but he is also considered as a progenitor of the collective identity, at the top of the genealogical tree of the *polis*. Information on the rituality and cultic aspects closely linked to the city foundation can be found in a scholium to Pindar (*Ol*. 1. 149 [= 93]), which states that, according to customary rules (*ex ethous*), the oikist was buried in the centre of the *polis*.[24] Herodotus (6. 38) reports that sacrifices were offered and gymnastic *agones* were dedicated to Miltiades in the Chersonese, according to the custom of the Greek community for the heroic oikist cult, which was configured as a *nomos*, like a law.[25] The oikist could also be identified as a common ancestor: not only he defined the characteristic features of the *polis*' collective identity, but he also embodied a cohesive force consolidating the genealogical roots of the citizens; as a result, a bond was also established on a social level, where the *demos* was considered as a single lineage, represented by a multitude of the founder's direct descendants.[26] The dedication

[20] See the considerations in de Polignac 1995, 116. For an excellent overview of the relationship between Greeks and non-Greeks, see Nenci – Cataldi 1983. On the way literary sources considered the local cultural element of the *ktiseis*, see Moggi 1983.

[21] Gasperini 1997; Bremmer 2001; Giangiulio 2001; Kreutz 2016.

[22] Malkin 1987, 244. On the concept of "*polis* religion," see Sourvinou-Inwood 2000; Kindt 2009.

[23] Assmann 1995, 126.

[24] Malkin 1987, 193.

[25] Cf. Greco 2014, 40.

[26] A comparison can be made with the ancient Chinese World. From the earliest written records, dating back to the Shang dynasty 商朝 (16th century–1046 BCE), the ancestral cult constitutes one of the dominant features of classical Chinese civilisation. See Keightley 2004; Eno 2009. It represents a persistent connective element even after the end of the pre-imperial society, with the birth of the Qin 秦 empire (221 BCE), remaining at the heart of the hierarchical system founded on Confucianism. Evidence of a cult dedicated to the founder of a dynastic bloodline can already be found on the oracular bones of the Shang period that prove the existence of rituals involving meat and jade offerings, wine libations and human or animal sacrifices in honour of Cheng Tang 成汤 (the lord of the Shang feud) who founded the eponymous dynasty in the 16th century BCE. See Fracasso 2007. According to the ancestral cult of the Shang, genealogy (the definition of the ancestral link with the divinised ancestors) was an essential aspect in the determination of the relative ritual status, with

of the monument in his honour, the Heroon—whether it was a cenotaph or a proper burial—legitimised the political power of the *demos* over the territory.[27]

In the context of *ktiseis*, the religious character of the founding expeditions was essential: the oracle guided the oikist with its hermetic and mysterious response and invested the mission with a sacred character, which transformed the *ktisis* into a legitimate act also on a religious level, empowering the founder with a supremacy that aligned him with the gods as an *axis mundi*. In this regard, on a concrete level, during the land appropriation process, the founder also assumed legitimate political power, which has been suggestively compared by Claude Bérard as an allegory of sovereignty.[28] However, it was often emphasised that his power could change in accordance with different situations, both as a matter of the specific nature of the foundation (even the number of oikists could change) and in relation to the geographical aspects, but also in relation to the particular historical period in which the new act of κτίσις was performed. The oikist, therefore, was also a lawgiver when he established with his authority common laws for the *demos*. He was responsible for maintaining the social order of the *polis* in regulating internal conflicts and in the relationship with the local populations where the new settlement

repercussions on social functions, and ultimately on political power. The migration of a member of the royal aristocracy to new territories with the purpose of establishing new settlements (a phenomenon that bears some similarities to the foundation of *apoikiai*) involved the assignment to the founder – conferred by the Shang ruler at the head of the other clans – of a distinctive surname and a set of ritual objects, status symbols, and, finally, also the erection of an ancestral temple containing the ancestral tablet of the founder "oikist," that would become the object of a new local cult after the death of the founder (Chang 1983, 16). The Shang ruler was the head of political and spiritual power, also responsible for the mantic rituals performed on the oracular bones (*jiaguwen* 甲骨文). Royal divinations were carved or inscribed on plastrons of tortoises or bovine scapulae. The king made use of divination for political affairs and to establish new settlements officiating the prescribed rites to align his rule with the divine will, like an oikist or a founding ruler of the Greek world. The oracular responses legitimised his political power. Thus, he was a sort of progenitor, as well as *archegetes* and highest priest, in the same way as Homeric kings. At least until the later Western Zhou 西周 period (1046–771 BCE), the new political center was often in the frontier areas to facilitate military expansion. Once control over these territories was secured, the construction of the new settlement was centred on two fundamental cultic structures: the shrine of the ancestors and the *genius loci* (*she* 社), the altar mound of the Earth. The structure was set in open air; it was covered by a roof only if the fiefdom had been conquered: this act had the purpose to break the connection between this ὀμφαλός and Heaven, the residence of the divinised ancestor. See Kominami 2009. The role of ancestral sacrifice as social unification factor is reaffirmed in later classical sources, such as *Liji* 禮記 (3rd–2nd century BCE). According to *Liji*, the hierarchy that sets the sovereign at the top of the social pyramid finds correspondence in the world of the ancestors; the sovereign (*wang* 王), "Son of Heaven" (*tianzi* 天子), is consequently represented as people's "father and mother." The *wang* is the only element capable of "centering" the realm, ensuring the cosmic order that unites ancestors and descendants. The organisation of society into a series of lineages is a direct consequence of rituals, but the proper use of ritual by the sages led the people to consider themselves as a single family, under the father-sovereign, who represents the apex of the distinct lineages. See Puett 2021.

[27] The founders of cities in the West (Magna Graecia and Sicily) are often historical figures: see for example Donnellan 2015 for the narratives on the foundation of Naxos. For a comparison with Theseus' different role as a synecist in Athens and the different narratives about his semi-divine or historical pedigree, see Turner 2015. Other heroes could be honoured in the ἀγορά; but the founder in the Greek ἀποικία was the hero (ἥρως) *par excellence*, hence, the *heros ktistes* (ἥρως κτίσης) (as remarked by Greco 2014, 40). For references to Greek foundation narratives, see footnote 1, and also Malkin 1987; Dougherty 1993; Malkin 1998; Osborne 1998; Giangiulio 2001; Calame 2003. For a well-articulated *caveat* against generalisation, see Greco 2006.

[28] Bérard 1990, 98. See also the similar conclusions in de Polignac 1995, 155–156.

was established. Thus, the oikist's supremacy, reinforced by the possession of sacred objects, could be seen as a cohesive element of the new κτῆμα, and ultimately represents the root—deeply connected to the motherland—of a cult that identifies the community with the founder himself.[29] The founder of the new *polis* was a leader who planned the city, even programming the concrete spaces of the *chora*; he was also the supreme military commander. For this reason, the oikist cult was interpreted as a projection of aristocratic power in the political context of the new city.[30] In this regard, the constitutive process of the city has been defined by François de Polignac as a *mise en place* of a new cultic organisation, which finds concrete expression in the foundation or monumentalisation of sanctuaries as a concrete sign of the new community identity.[31] The oikist became simultaneously founder, progenitor and object of worship of the *polis*: three aspects reflected in the definition of Ἀρχηγέτης.[32]

The mythical-legendary memories constitute an important vehicle of ancient cities collective cultural memory. However, it is also possible to explore this subject on a material level, with particular reference to archaeological sources, which have left scholars wondering about interpretations of some monuments that may be considered as material traces of a possible cult.

Mythical or divine founders: the case of Parthenope

A particular case of a *ktisis* that seems to be linked to a mythological account is Parthenope: the eponymous siren takes on the peculiar features of a mythical oikist. The ancient Cumaean foundation of this *epineion* is associated with the mythical memory of the siren venerated and commemorated in the collective identity of the *polis*. Parthenope was founded between the second half of the 8th and the first half of the 7th century BCE, earlier than the subsequent re-foundation of the city, renamed as Neapolis.[33]

Mythos and *topos* seem to be perfectly aligned in the case of Parthenope, and if we identify it as the *ónoma* of the archaic *ktema*, the adaptation of the foundation narrative *logos* is even more evocative. The *ktisis* of Parthenope is an illustrative case study of what has already been mentioned in this contribution about the mythical-literary tradition that—thanks to narrative techniques— becomes the memory of the collective identity of the *apoikia*: the literary mythical element is connected to the cultural identity and flows into the historiographical tradition of the foundation. In this context, myth becomes a ritual and a cultic activity, restoring the link between the *demos* and the *ktisis* narrative tradition through the celebration of the cult dedicated to the siren and the performance of

[29] On the oikist and the oikist cult, see Malkin 1987, 199–220, 261–266; Antonaccio 1999; Ekroth 2002; Boffa 2019 focuses on the extremely scarce epigraphic evidence concerning the cult of colonial founders; Giangiulio 2021 offers a very interesting analysis of a fragment of Callimachus' *Aitia* that provides evidence of founder worship in the colonies of ancient Sicily.

[30] Malkin 1987, 250–251.

[31] de Polignac 1995, 180.

[32] See Malkin 1987, 241–248.

[33] On the foundation of Parthenope, see Pugliese Carratelli 1976; Raviola 1990; Mele 2014; Giampaola – Greco 2022; Fariello 2023a.

gymnastic *agones* in her honour, the λαμπαδηδρομία: the torch race. The legendary tradition is closely linked to historical sources concerning the foundation of Parthenope: its territory became the chosen theatre where the act of *ktisis* took place. In fact, according to the epic of the myth, with her *katapontismos*, a suicidal leap into the sea, the siren was washed up on the shores of the gulf. This act marked the start of a transformation process of the legendary discourse: from the mythographic realm we move on to the ritual sphere, through the cult that transforms the siren into a mother goddess of this ancient city, that—especially in the context of the next re-foundation of Neapolis—contributed to the historical continuity with the older Cumaean settlement.[34]

Historical sources on the foundation of the earliest settlement of Parthenope are relatively meagre and they refer to the later Cumaean re-foundation of the new city: Neapolis. Parthenope is mentioned as the *palaia polis* and appears to be chronologically older and significantly detached from the *ktisis* of Neapolis. For the identification of the earliest and oldest *ktema* of Parthenope, a fragment dating from the 2nd century BCE of the *Communes historiae* by Lutatius Daphnis— quoted by Philargyrius in his comment to Virgil (*ad Georg*., 4.564 = fr. Peter 7)—seems to be particularly significant. According to this account, "The inhabitants of the territory of Cumae, after leaving their families, founded the city of Parthenope, named after the siren Parthenope, whose body also [was buried there] (*Dicit Cumanos incolas a parentibus digressos Parthenopem urbem constituisse, dictam a Parthenope sirena, cuius corpus etiam* [...]."[35] However, it is later reported in the fragment that, after the city began to be popular due to its fertility and beauty, the Cumaeans decided to destroy Parthenope, because they feared that Cumae might be abandoned. Subsequently, the destroyers were struck by a plague; following the oracular response they decided to rebuild the city by welcoming with great devotion the cult of the siren Parthenope, and by virtue of this new foundation they named the city Neapolis.[36] From the passage we learn of the existence of a Cumaean foundation, more ancient than Neapolis, and of its destruction, again by the Cumaeans. In this regard, Livy (8.22.5; 8.23.10) confirms the existence of Parthenope and Neapolis at the same time. The Roman historian

[34] On the next *ktisis* of Neapolis, see Mertens 2006; Giampaola – Greco 2022, in particular 66–113.

[35] See Cerchiai 2020.

[36] Lutatius Daphnis' account about the richness achieved by Parthenope (which allegedly led to its destruction by the Cumaeans) can be supported by archaeological records. The topographical reconstruction proposed by Daniela Giampaola has already highlighted the opulence of the eastern plain of the ancient settlement (Giampaola et al. 2005, 47–54; chapter IV in Giampaola – Greco 2022, 42–53); in the light of the latest archaeological discoveries, it seems clear that the economy of the early settlement received a strong development from the profits of this *epineion* derived from maritime trade. Archaeological investigation on the finds from the ancient harbour of Parthenope – which seems to have been located in the same area where the harbour of Neapolis later developed – has revealed an increase in ceramic finds and, in particular, trade amphorae of both Greek and Etruscan import. According to Daniela Giampaola, the archaeological data collected from the harbour area of the first *ktisis* (Parthenope) would show an increase of the maritime traffic suggesting the inclusion of this *epineion* in the routes connecting the Greek world with the Etruscan and indigenous areas. In the second quarter of the 5th century BCE there was a trade contraction, as suggested by the sudden decrease of the archaeological evidence, and then a considerable increase in the chronological phase of the 4th–3rd century BCE: this has been interpreted as a concrete confirmation of the narrative of the historical sources, referring to the period when Parthenope coexisted as a *palaia polis* with Neapolis. Perhaps in the decrease of data it could be possible to detect a period of time when Parthenope was destroyed by the "envious" Cumaeans for its economic wealth. See Giampaola 2017; Giampaola 2020; Giampaola – Carsana 2021.

reports that the old settlement was located at a short distance from Neapolis and that both cities were inhabited by people "of equal lineage from Cumae."[37]

The Siren Parthenope is portrayed as a pre-existing entity of the local *pantheon*. The Athenian navarchus Diotimos transformed the myth of the Sirens into an actual body of faith with his ritual act, specifically, with the institution of the Lampadedromia on the shores of the *Kymaion Kòlpo*s. Timaeus (4th–3rd c. BCE) says that "according to an oracle," approaching Neapolis, Diotimos offered a sacrifice to Parthenope; he established an annual torch race and officiated the cult at the *sema*—the tomb—of the siren.[38]

Consequently, from the mythical tradition, the siren becomes an object of worship and the centre of ritual elaboration that contributes to balance collective society. If the *epos* constitutes our systematisation of myths by incorporating them into the narrative tradition, the mythological oikist becomes the "body of faith." Moreover, in this foundation case study we can find the use of *archegetes* in its dual meaning: Parthenope is the mythical founder and the progenitor of the political order.

A literary source from the Hellenistic period reconstructs the mythical-legendary genesis of the siren mentioned by Lutatius: the Hellenistic poem *Alexandra* (Lycoph. *Alex.* 712–737) by Lycophron tells that the body of Parthenope—one of the three sirens he mentions—had washed up on the shores, next to the tower of Phaleros, in correspondence with the cape of Mount Echia on the hill of Pizzofalcone. Her suicide was caused by Odysseus' resistance to the seduction of her singing. Following that tragic episode, the inhabitants of the place built a monument in her honour.[39] The *aition* of the cult is concentrated in verses 712–721 of the *Alexandra*: the suicide leap (*katapontismos*) is presented as an integral part of the cultic narrative and it is a constitutive element of the birth of the ritual that anticipates the foundation myth.[40] The siren becomes a deity at the same time as her cult is established: "The inhabitants will build the tomb of the maiden on that specific location and there will be annual libations and oxen sacrificed to the glory of Parthenope, bird goddess" (Lycoph. *Alex.* 719–721).

From mythical to ritual sphere: the siren becomes a polyad divinity in the context of the re-foundation of Neapolis; the location of the cult dedicated to Parthenope is her *sema* and, according to an ancient oracle, gymnastic *agones* are customarily practised in the *polis*. This important information converges in Strabo's *Geography* (5.4.7). The mythical cultural memory becomes an instrument of legitimacy and a Neapolitan symbol of collective identity, creating a legendary prehistory that flows into the historiography

[37] See Giampaola – Greco 2022, 66–67.

[38] Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F98 = *schol*. ad Lycoph. 717–721. Lampadedromia were typical Athenian celebrations: see Shear 2021, 106–108. On the chronology of Diotimos' arrival, see Giampaola – Greco 2022, 72–76. The narration of the *ktisis* of Diotimos sanctioned by the oracular response combines the religious and political aspects as remarked by Malkin 1987, 85: "Diotimos son of Strombichos, after having commanded the Athenian fleet which was sent to aid Korkyra in 433/2 BC, later led Athenian colonists to Neapolis and as their oikist received some sort of foundation oracle about honouring Parthenope." A passage by Strabo (5.246) remarks that the Athenians were part of the groups that founded Neapolis; the geographer also mentions the presence of a *mnema* dedicated to Parthenope and the athletic competition prescribed by an oracle (*kata manteian*), maybe the same oracular response cited by Timaeus. See Gallo 2023, 28.

[39] On the Sirens in Lycophron, see Raviola 2006; Biffis 2016.

[40] On the suicide act by the Sirens in other literary sources, see at least Strab. 6.1.1; *Orph. Arg.* 1284–1291; Ap. Rhod. *Argon*. 7.19.

of Neapolis. The affirmation of the new *polis* identity is perpetuated in the local cult and is remarked in the Lampadedromia dedicated to Parthenope. These collective celebrations were naturally anchored to the figure of this mythological oikist. Nevertheless, the worship relevance of the siren is emphasised by Timaeus and Lycophron and is closely associated with the Greek foundation experience in the West. The predisposition to deification of these sea Muses makes them venerable objects of worship, goddesses, *theai* (Alcm. fr. 86).[41] From the status of *parthenos*, the siren becomes a goddess: the eponymous divinity, the original progenitor of the *polis* and also a symbol of fertility.[42]

The tower of Phaleros where the siren's body lied could be considered as a further clue of the ancient connection of Neapolis with the Greek homeland.[43] Moreover, the Siren Parthenope mentioned by Lycophron—who is subordinate to Timaeus as a primary source—is related to the oldest myth of the Sirens: primarily the *Odyssey* (Hom. *Od.* 12.39–52, 166–191) and Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*.[44]

The myth of the Sirens was geographically located by Strabo (5.4.8) in the Sorrentine context: the toponym Parthenope is mentioned in reference to the smallest of the three islets defined as Sirēnoussai (today Li Galli) in the open sea off Positano.[45] Probably, Strabo's primary source is the *De mirabilibus auscultationibus* (*Mir. ausc.* 839 a) by Pseudo-Aristotle.[46] These hybrid entities are portrayed as ornithomorphic creatures with the head of a woman.[47]

It is necessary to point out that there is no specific mention in *Geography* that refers to the toponym Parthenope as a Cumaean foundation more ancient than Neapolis: the geographer states that there was an older Cumaean colony before Neapolis, but he does not mention its name. Elsewhere, Strabo records a foundation named Parthenope (14.2.10): probably relying on a Rhodian source, he mentions a series of cities that were allegedly founded in the West by the Rhodians many years before the establishment of the Olympiads. As part of his review of foundations, it appears a city named Parthenope that was founded in the land of the Opici. This foundation tradition was also summarised by Stephanus of Byzantium, who evidently used Strabo's work as a source.[48]

As Lorenzo Braccesi also pointed out, the toponyms identified by Strabo (5.4.8) could also be considered as a legacy of that mythical geographical memory that was plausibly inherited by the Euboic colonists, who located Odysseus' circumnavigation in the West.[49]

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[41] Giangiulio 1986, 125; Giangiulio 1991; Taylor 2015; Moro 2019; Fariello 2023b.

[42] See Mele 2016, 315.

[43] Paus. 1. 2. For the problem of the interpretation of the expression *Phalerou tyrsis* in Lycophron, see Giampaola – Greco 2022, 69–72.

[44] On Sirens in the *Catalogue of Women*, Breglia Pulci Doria 1990; De Sanctis 2003.

[45] For the identification of the Sirens with the three islets off the coast of Sorrento, traditionally called "Li Galli," see Federico 2010. For an in-depth analysis, Senatore 2014; Senatore 2020.

[46] Raviola 1990, 48–49.

[47] The most famous of these iconographic evidence appear on an Attic *stamnos* from Vulci, dated 480–470 BCE and preserved in the British Museum (n. 1843,1103.31). See Walters 1927, III Ic Pl. 20, 1; and the image in the British Museum website (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1843-1103-31).

[48] In this regard, theories that attributed to Rhodians the foundation of Parthenope have not been confirmed by archaeological data. On Parthenope as a Rhodian foundation, see Pugliese Carratelli 1976, 182 n. 3. On the problematic aspects of this theory, see Mele 2014, 147–149; Giampaola – Greco 2022, 20–23.

[49] Braccesi 1994, 3–4.

Concerning the above-mentioned passages from Strabo, Eduardo Federico has postulated the presence and the reflection of a contrast between two political orientations: "philo-Cumaean" and "philo-Neapolitan."[50] The "philo-Neapolitan" perspective considered the siren a constitutive element of the *polis* cultural identity and cults. Remarking the presence of the siren's tomb, the Neapolitans reinforced the legitimacy *logos* of the political power of Neapolis. Cults, monuments, collective and religious practices of the *polis*—last but not least, the possession of the siren's relics, i.e. the body of faith—reinforced the collective identity and the strength of the *demos*. The same term *mnema* adopted by the geographer (Strab. 5.4.7) had the purpose to confirm the presence of the mythical oikist's cenotaph, which was also an emblem of the cultural memory of the *polis* emphasising the legitimacy discourse. In conclusion, the monumental programme of the civic space of Neapolis emphasised these symbols of political power legitimated by the religion and also reflected in the cultic sphere.[51] This aspect probably mirrored the antagonisms aroused between the two cities of Cumae and Neapolis, especially in the light of the growing importance that Neapolis was gaining. However, in another section of his work, Strabo explicitly identifies the location of the three sirens in the bay of Sorrento (Strab. 5.4.8), suggesting the probable presence of a "Philo-Cumaean" perspective: perhaps, in order to question the discourse of Neapolitan legitimacy, he proposed a substitutive or at least an alternative version to the tradition that localised the siren's relics on the shores of the Neapolitan Bay.

Landmarks of heroic kings as *ktistai*

As already affirmed by François de Polignac, the oikist cult could be portrayed as a hero worship. It has a specific location: the Heroon, a monument dedicated to the oikist, that was generally localised in the ἀγορά (the political heart of the city), and sometimes it was hidden from the eyes of the citizens.[52]

The source that appears to be the most comprehensive evidence of the oikist cult is Thucydides. He reports on the burial of Brasidas at Amphipolis (Thuc. 5.11.1). The Amphipolitans initiated the burial ritual of the Spartan general in front of the *agorà*. Considering him as an oikist, they surrounded his monument with a wall. During the ceremony, rituals and sacrifices were performed as a typical heroic cult. Thereafter, every year gymnastic *agones* and sacrifices were dedicated to him.[53] Focusing on the earliest

[50] Federico 2010.

[51] Concerning the presence of temple structures dating back to the settlement of Parthenope, archaeological excavations have brought to light in Piazza S. Maria degli Angeli some *louteria* with painted decorations and some polychrome architectural terracottas, which in terms of type and style could be compared with other fragments found in architectural contexts related to the Campanian roof system (descending from the original style of the Cumaean roof system). These fragments may have constituted a small part of a larger monumental programme, which could refer to the presence of a possible sanctuary structure. Cf. Giampaola 2017, 209.

[52] de Polignac 1995, 151. The author affirms that Erwin Rohde was the first to point out that the city foundation is associated with the oikist's heroization; the founder has the privilege to be commemorated by the erection of a monument dedicated to him in the centre of the *agorà*. See Rohde 2006.

[53] See Mari 2012; Mari 2015a. Of particular interest in this regard are the archaeological excavations of the Heroon of Amphipolis, in which the cremated remains of the oikist together with a wreath of gold olive

case studies that were also analysed by François de Polignac,[54] the heroic character inherited by the oikist cult seems to appear during the Dark Age (as in the case of Lefkandi) and persists even during the 8th–7th centuries BCE in funerary contexts where the heroised sovereigns were buried in a specific Homeric custom. In the context of dynastic frameworks, and especially in the case of the necropolis of Lefkandi, libation rituals represented the probable evidence of cults reserved for the restricted élite of the *aristoi*.[55] The proliferation of legendary or eponymous founders could be considered as a late phenomenon emulating the colonial founder tradition, but it does not constitute a precedent for it. Whether the development of heroic cults has to be seen as a phenomenon of continuity with previous centuries or as an innovation, it is however clear that in the 8th century some new developments also occurred in the cult and funerary customs of the aristocracy.[56]

During the second half of the 8th century BCE, the heroic burials of the "warriors" of Argos seem to suggest a sort of revendication of the authority and superlative prestige, that—in the framework of an affirmation of direct descendance discourse—probably aimed at the assertion of their assimilation with the Homeric heroes.[57] Competing aristocratic groups built their own funerary monuments near the Heraion, in the heart of the *chora*, which were eloquent signs of a specific heroic status set on an equal level with Homeric rulers: kings of Argos tried to consolidate their position in competition with the other dynasties of the plane. The warrior king was constantly compared to Heracles and to animals such as the lion that emphasised his courage: this was meant to assert a kind of superiority in a context of competition among monarchies. The heroic character became an instrument of a political power legitimisation extended to the successors. The *sema*, as a sign recognisable by the entire community, represented a landmark, a metaphor for a status of heroisation equivalent to a new collective awareness of the specific ancestor role assumed by the founding hero.[58] The kings were cremated emulating the Homeric style and their tombs were filled with rich grave goods and with the presence of iconography patterns related to heroic imagery. Further symbolisms enriched the λόγος of a kingship legitimised by the ἀρετή: the battle prowess of the warrior aristocracies became the main motif of the legitimacy discourse. The unprecedented lavishness of the funerary offerings and other archaeological finds suggesting the presence of horse sacrificial rituals seem to emulate the same funerary custom and honours dedicated to heroes like Patroclus (Hom. *Il.* 23.252–257) and Achilles (Hom. *Od*. 24.63–84).[59]

Moreover, it could be not entirely unreasonable to suggest that the Homeric-inspired burials of Argos may have constituted a model of inspiration that was voluntarily remployed

leaves were preserved in a silver *larnax*. The building brought to light has been dated to the 5th century BCE. Concerning the foundation episode narrated by Thucydides, it should be noted that the passage emphasises that the vestiges of the commemorative monument in honour of the first oikist Hagnon were removed to replace them with the new structure dedicated to Brasidas. See Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2015.

[54] de Polignac 1995, 159–160.

[55] Gallou 2005. For the "Homeric" connotations of the Toumba building at Lefkandi, see Kourkoulakos 2023. See also Antonaccio 2002; Giamakis 2023.

[56] See Malkin 1987, 261–266.

[57] de Polignac 1995, 156–157.

[58] On the tumuli of Argos, see Duplouy 2021.

[59] de Polignac 1995, 153. See also Ekroth 2002, and the considerations in Pavlides 2023, 11–27.

in later periods. Thus, it is probable that this paradigm also became a useful tool for asserting the legitimacy of a dynastic power: the Homeric style, for instance, is a recognisable language of the royal representation code adopted by the Macedonian kings. In this regard, the Macedonian royal tombs of Vergina (Aigai, the ceremonial capital of the dynasty) could be considered as a tangible sign of a legitimacy discourse founded on the mythological dynastic descendance λόγος from Heracles.[60]

The rich funerary customs of Tomb II—the presumed burial of Philip II—seem to emphasise opulence and luxury as reminders of the rich funerary items belonging to Homeric rulers.[61] Probably, in my opinion, the evidence of these languages—that could be identified as traces of a clear emulation of Homeric sovereignty—could be interpreted as a specific paradigm of legitimacy and as a symbol of the bond of the deceased sovereigns of the dynasty, heroic ancestors, with the legitimised rulers of the Hellenistic era. The great burial mound—located near the northern area of the ancient city where the royal palace of Aigai was built—was excavated in 1980 and it has been interpreted not only as a symbol of wealth but also as an emblem of authority and power.[62] The tumulus could be identified as a true *sema*, especially with reference to its connotations as a commemorative monument. Its symbolism suggests that Macedonian aristocratic deceased members continued to play a sufficiently crucial role to deserve the valorisation of their presence and the commemoration of their memory.[63]

According to Manolis Andronikos, the remains of the Macedonian ruler in Tomb II underwent a special procedure: the bones had been soaked in wine and then wrapped in a very precious textile inside a golden *larnax*. The wreath of oak leaves on the head of the ruler, the panoply of precious weapons, the libation vessels together with the amphorae filled with honey and olive oil and other items like unguentaries containing perfumed oils were burnt into the flames of the funeral pyre. With this specific burial ritual, the ruler of Tomb II was reunited through funerary tradition with the Homeric rulers, but especially with his ancestral progenitor: Heracles. Through the flames of the pyre, the ruler left his mortal existence as a hero, like Heracles in the world of the immortals.[64] The heroic character of Macedonian kingship was also emphasised in the sphere of religious practices, and, in particular, in the specific cult officiated by the Macedonian rulers in honour of Heracles Πατρῷος, a cult in which Heracles was honoured as an ancestor, *Propator*. Moreover, epigraphic evidence has also suggested that the practice of this specific cult was not confined to the aristocratic circle but was also practised on the popular level.[65] Similarly, the Macedonian cult of Athena Ἀλκίδημος in Pella[66] could clearly express those Homeric aristocratic values. Evidence of Athena's importance

[60] Herodotus gives shape to the genealogy of the Macedonian dynasty: in 8.137–138 he affirms that the Macedonian kings through Perdiccas descended from Temenos, the Argive descent of Heracles. According to his account, Perdiccas I escaped with his brothers from the Peloponnese. See Mari 2015b, 81.

[61] Cf. Fariello 2025b. On royal "Homeric" burial practice, see Andronikos 1991, 170; Kottaridi 2011.

[62] Drougou 2015, 245.

[63] For a detailed discussion of the historical evolution and role of tumuli in Macedonian territory, see Schmidt-Dounas 2016.

[64] Andronikos 1991; Kottaridi 2011, 62–63.

[65] Cf. Mari 2015c, 455 and related bibliography.

[66] Brett 1950; Voutiras 1998, 120–121. On the epithet attributed to Athena, see Liv. 42.51.1–2.

in Macedonian royal burials is represented by the ritual helmet from Tomb II with the bust of Athena in relief.[67]

Even more important for a new reinterpretation of the tumulus is the monument that has been identified as a Heroon, at the south end of the tomb cluster of Tomb II, inserted in part in the fill of the burial pit of Tomb I.[68] There is no space here to dwell on whether a regular cult was actually performed at the monument identified as Heroon within the tumulus of Vergina. However, with reference to the entire mound of the Macedonian dynasty and to the Homeric-style funerary ceremonial dedicated to the ruler buried in Tomb II, it would not be so far-fetched to claim that the mound itself might have been considered by the Hellenistic successors not only as a *sema*, a memorial monument dedicated to the ancestral rulers, heroes descended by Heracles—legitimised in the same way as the Homeric warrior aristocracies—but also as a cultural and identity symbol. This specific symbolism was not only recognisable on a local level, but also in the broader geographical context of the Hellenistic Greek world, where Hellenistic kings represented themselves as direct successors of the Macedonian dynasty.[69]

Thus, in the contest of dynastic legitimisation patterns of the great tumulus, I would like to add a few personal remarks. The Macedonian rulers, with their specific burial customs adopted in the funerary context of the "mega tumulus," stand out for their Homeric emulative philological care. In the same way as the 8th–7th centuries kings of Argos (from which they pretended to descend) who emulated the greatness of Homeric heroic kings, the funerary context of Vergina —with its rich grave goods, bronze cauldrons, *alabastra* with protomes of Heracles, hunting friezes, and the sovereign's panoply of tomb II burned in the pyre—constitutes a continuity for this heroic funerary custom.

In my opinion, the monument identified as a Heroon could be considered as a monument dedicated to the victory of the dynasty. At the same time, the mega tumulus could represent a kind of "mega-heroon" with the purpose of affirming a succession of legitimacy of the royal Macedonian power. According to this interpretation, the Macedonian rulers buried in the tumulus were commemorated by their successors as *ktistai* of a new political order, as progenitors of a new era, the *archegetai* of the Hellenistic world. However, the first progenitor-hero of the lineage was the quintessential hero, the semi-divine Heracles.

In fact, the particular reference to Heracles detectable in the iconographic patterns of the libation vessels with leonine protomes, and also traceable among other decorative items of the trousseau, not only had the purpose of perpetuating the cultic practices celebrated by the dynasty in the ceremonial capital in honour of the semi-divine hero and ancestor. Perhaps, like in other contexts where the heroic character appeared in relation with the commemorative monuments and practices of the oikist cult, the presence of Heracles, explicit in iconography symbolism and in aniconic form, in the context of the *apotheosis* and ascension processes of deceased kings to Olympus by means of the flames of the funeral pyre, indicated the passage of the dead semi-divine heroes to a posthumous divine status. Moreover, the presence of Heracles could even recall, on a general level, king's heroisation, typical of the funerary custom practised by kings of Argos. Additionally, we

[67] On the helmet of the panoply of tomb II, see Kottaridi 2011, 66.

[68] Kottaridi 2011, 24.

[69] On the ruler-cults during the following period of development of the hellenistic culture, see Coppola 2016.

can also find other examples of heroic cults at Mycenae, and also in Sparta at the Menelaion and Helenaion, erected in ancient Therapne.[70]

Regardless of whether or not a heroic cult was officiated at Vergina, in the Hellenistic context the *sema*-tumulus was an important symbol of cultural belonging: the expression of Hero cults to Hellenistic rulers finds evidence in some specific contexts that would constitute the ramifications of the original symbolism of Macedonian founding rulers, the Original Macedonian kings from the "Old Kingdom." We find an example of this role representation code in the epigraphic reference of Philip *soter ktistes*, founder of a new order.[71]

This Hero cult and the heroisation symbolism of the oikist can also be found in the context of *apoikiai*.[72]

In conclusion, the burial style of Tomb II could be described as a Homeric triumph,[73] but perhaps it could be also interpreted as a kind of "revival of Heracles' apotheosis" experienced by the ruler, who was reunited with his semi-divine ancestor, the mythical founder of the Argead dynasty.

Nevertheless, it could be also remarked that in the Macedonian context, the presence of Heracles as iconographic and symbolic motif seems to suggest that this reference should be interpreted not only as a theme exclusively related to the Macedonian *logos* of legitimacy: the funeral pyre could also be regarded as a symbolism of an ultimate rite of passage experienced by the heroic king who made his transition to a divine status. In this specific case, the burial symbolic elements of Tomb II—for example the golden wreath with oak leaves, metonymical symbol of the sacred tree of Zeus—could be interpreted as a sign of the ruler's transition into divine status in the context of an apotheosis process where the semi-divine hero king becomes in the afterlife a sovereign legitimated by the king of the gods.[74]

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[70] On the Menelaion, see Pavlides 2023, 103–120.

[71] Identified as Philip V, see Mari 2008, 263.

[72] An eloquent example is Poseidonia (Paestum), a sub-colony in Magna Graecia founded by the Sybarites ca. 650–625 BCE (Longo 1999; Greco 2000, 2019). The Heroon of Poseidonia, discovered in 1954 by Pellegrino Claudio Sestieri, is still today the subject of ongoing investigations. The monument, originally a hypogeum, has been dated to ca. 510 BCE. In the 1980s, excavation campaigns proved that the "sacellum hypogeum" was originally covered by a tumulus: a structure strikingly similar to the tomb of Battos, founder of Cyrene. Emanuele Greco assumed that the "sacellum" was a cenotaph dedicated to the founding hero of Poseidonia, identifiable with a Megyllos or Megyllis thanks to a silver coin already known in the early 20th century (Greco 2014, 40–43). The heroisation of this historical figure can be deduced from one of the clay artefacts (six *hydriai* and two amphorae) of the sumptuous trousseau found in 1954 inside the "sacellum" and now preserved in the Museum of Paestum: it is an Attic amphora, ascribed to the so-called "Chiusi painter" and dating from 520–510 BCE, with an eloquent iconographic language. The amphora's foot broke off but was restored using lead grappling hooks: this proves that the iconography on the main vessel surface was fundamental for the cenotaph setting, and made its inclusion necessary, despite the damage it suffered. It depicts Heracles' entrance to Olympus (*apotheosis*), i.e. a scene of heroisation *par excellence*, of a mortal becoming god. This iconographic image, together with the evidence of a sacrifice of roasted meat and the remains of honey within a *hydria* (a typical element of heroic funerals), found within the "sacellum," are elements that would indeed appear to support the existence of a heroic cult dedicated to the founder.

[73] Fariello 2025b, 268.

[74] Cf. Kottaridi 2011, 63. With regard to the golden wreath with oak leaves as a royal emblem of legitimacy bestowed by Zeus, it could be reminded—admitting that the occupant of Tomb II is Philip II—the prominent

In addition, the symbolism of the funerary ritual, the constant references to the semi-divine hero and also the presence of honey in the amphorae can also be found in archaeological contexts of other monumental dynastic burials of heroised rulers or even in some grave goods preserved in certain *Heroa* from the *apoikiai* world.[75]

Nevertheless, ancient sources already highlighted peculiar traits in the style of representation of royal power adopted by the Macedonian kings, especially Philip II, who portrayed himself as a typical Homeric king. In this regard, Robin J. Lane Fox pointed out that according to an interpretation that adopts an anthropological approach the attitudes and the kingship promoted by Philip II could be framed as "pseudo-Homeric." Even in battle, Philip II fought like a Homeric hero; the importance of his *hetairoi*, the offerings in honour of the gods and the ritual culture of gift-giving that he practised could be interpreted as constant reminders of the world celebrated by Homer.[76] The same role assumed by the Macedonian sovereigns as "High Priests" suggested by the sources may constitute evidence of this desire to represent their power in a Homeric style.[77] The tumulus could perform the same symbolic function of a *sema*, a memorial monument dedicated to the ancestral Macedonian rulers and also a landmark of the dynasty's victory. In this regard, after 323 BCE, the kings of the Hellenistic oecumene legitimised themselves as successors of the Macedonian dynasty: the effigy of an Alexander-Heracles on their coins legitimised their political power. The Macedonian ancestor heroic king, who descended from Heracles, was a paradigm with endless references to the heroic past, even echoing the mythical-legendary memories preserved in the Homeric corpus.[78] Alexander, who had legitimised himself as an emulation of Heracles and Achilles, took his personal edition of the *Iliad* always with him to every place where his military conquest stretched out (Strab. 13.1.27; Pliny, *HN* 7.28; 29; Plut. *Alex.* 8.2). Thus, even in the Hellenistic era, the re-enactment of heroic values in the collective memory was reincarnated in the faces of the rulers who succeeded one after the other on the thrones of the kingdoms of the Greek-Hellenistic world.

In conclusion, it is possible that the mound-*sema* of Vergina represented—in the same way as a mega-heroon—cultural-historical values of a royal identity that legitimised the new generations of Hellenistic rulers. As a funerary monument, not only it was an element of continuity for dynastic legitimacy, but maybe was also a landmark representing the Macedonian ancestor sovereigns, founders of a new political order, progenitors, lawgivers, basically *ktistai*.

symbolism adopted by Philip in 352 BCE, during the Third Sacred War: the use of laurel wreath on the battlefield at Crocus Field as an emblem of his role as avenger on behalf of Apollo against the sacrilegious Phocidians (Just. 8.2.1–4). Cf. Fariello 2021b. On the oak wreath as a symbol of highest divinity of the Macedonian royal family, see Santagati 2023.

[75] See the considerations on Poseidonia and the relative references in footnote 72.

[76] Lane Fox 2015b, 358–359; Fariello 2025b, 259.

[77] Mari 2015c, 455.

[78] See Fariello – Gallo 2023, 93.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 49–67
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.003.21393
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Die Gründung von Ephesos im Spiegel der literarischen Überlieferung

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Abstract
The Foundation of Ephesus in the Light of Literary Evidence

This article examines the founding legends of the Greek polis of Ephesus in Asia Minor. According to a probably older tradition, the warlike Amazons are considered to be the founders of the city and the famous temple of Artemis. A more recent tradition connects the origins of Ephesus with the *heros ktistes* Androclus, who is said to have founded a city during the so-called Ionian migration. While the story of the Amazons connects Ephesus with the history of Asia, the tradition of the city's founder Androclus strengthens the connection with Athens and the Greek motherland.

Keywords: Ephesus, Amazons, Androclus, Ionian migration, asylum.

Androklos, der *heros ktistes* von Ephesos

Die Stadt Ephesos wurde im Zuge der Besiedlung Ioniens durch die Griechen in der Zeit nach dem Trojanischen Krieg gegründet. Zahlreiche antike Quellen[1] berichten von dieser frühen Auswanderung festländischer Griechen nach Kleinasien, die von der modernen Forschung als „Ionische Wanderung" bezeichnet wird.[2] Als ursprüngliche Heimat der Siedler nennt die Überlieferung einerseits die Landschaft Messenien, andererseits das ebenfalls peloponnesische Achaia. Dominierend wird schließlich eine Version der Sage,

[1] Vgl. etwa Hdt. 1.145ff.; Thuk. 1.12; Strab. 14.1.3; Paus. 7.2.1ff. Eine kritische Diskussion der Quellen bietet Prinz 1979, 314ff.

[2] Vgl. zur sog. Ionischen Wanderung etwa Sakellariou 1958; Sakellariou 1990, 133ff.; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 367ff.; Niemeier 2007b, 87ff.; Lemos 2007.

die Athen zum Ausgangspunkt der eigentlichen Kolonisationsbewegung macht: Die Messenier und Achaier, die aufgrund der Rückkehr der Herakleiden ihre angestammten Siedlungsgebiete verlassen mussten, sollen zunächst in Attika Zuflucht gefunden haben, ehe ein Streit um die Königswürde zwischen den Söhnen des Kodros zur Auswanderung des Königssohnes Neileus, seiner übrigen Geschwister und seiner Anhänger – darunter die Flüchtlinge aus Messenien und Achaia sowie etliche Athener – nach Kleinasien und zur Gründung der Städte der *Dodekapolis*[3] geführt habe. Dies berichtet etwa Pausanias:

> ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον Μέδων καὶ Νειλεὺς πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Κόδρου παίδων ἐστασίασαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασκεν ὁ Νειλεὺς ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλευόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Μέδοντος, ὅτι ὁ Μέδων τὸν ἕτερον ἦν τῶν ποδῶν χωλός· δόξαν δέ σφισιν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, δίδωσι Μέδοντι ἡ Πυθία βασιλείαν τὴν Ἀθηναίων. οὕτω δὴ ὁ Νειλεὺς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Κόδρου παίδων ἐς ἀποικίαν ἀπεστάλησαν, ἀγαγόντες μὲν καὶ αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν βουλόμενον, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστόν σφισιν ἦσαν τοῦ στρατεύματος οἱ Ἴωνες.[4]

Die Frage nach Historizität und Wahrheitsgehalt dieser Überlieferungen ist in der althistorischen Forschung vielfach diskutiert und kontrovers beantwortet worden: Während einerseits manche Gelehrte davon ausgehen, dass die Sagen von der Wanderung der Ionier durchaus Erinnerungen an tatsächliche historische Ereignisse bewahrt haben,[5] sprechen andererseits etliche Altertumswissenschaftler den einschlägigen Quellen jegliche Relevanz ab und halten diese Mythen für spätere Rekonstruktionen.[6] In der Tat ist im Laufe der Zeit mit diversen Umformungen und der politischen Instrumentalisierung der Überlieferung zu rechnen,[7] an der grundsätzlichen Historizität der Besiedlung der ägäischen Küstenregion Kleinasiens durch einwandernde Griechen,[8] die selbstverständlich in irgendeiner Weise politisch organisiert gewesen sein müssen, ist aufgrund der Ergebnisse der modernen Dialektforschung sowie zahlreicher archäologischer Untersuchungen freilich nicht zu zweifeln. Zeitlich ist diese Migrationsbewegung aufgrund der archäologischen Evidenz[9] in die submykenische bzw. in die protogeometrische Periode

[3] Als *Dodekapolis* wird jener Bund von zwölf Städten bezeichnet, zu dem sich die ionischen Poleis zusammengeschlossen haben. Hdt. 1.145 erklärt die Zwölfzahl durch den Umstand, dass die Ionier schon vor ihrer Auswanderung, als sie noch auf der Peloponnes wohnten, in zwölf μέρεα unterteilt gewesen wären.

[4] Paus. 7.2.1. Übersetzung: „Wenige Jahre später stritten sich Medon und Neileus, die ältesten der Söhne des Kodros, um die Herrschaft, und Neileus weigerte sich hinzunehmen, dass er von Medon beherrscht würde, weil Medon auf einem Fuß lahm war; sie beschlossen, sich an das Orakel in Delphi zu wenden, und die Pythia gab Medon die Königsherrschaft über die Athener. So wurden Neileus und die übrigen Söhne des Kodros abgesandt, um eine Kolonie zu gründen, und sie nahmen jeden von den Athenern, der mitkommen wollte, mit, den größte Teil ihres Heereszuges bildeten aber die Ionier." (Alle Übersetzungen in diesem Beitrag stammen vom Verfasser). Auch Griechen anderer Regionen nahmen an diesem Zug teil, wie der Perieget im Weiteren anfügt (Paus. 7.2.3f.) und auch Herodot (Hdt. 1.146) berichtet.

[5] So etwa Schachermeyr 1983, 296ff., dessen Buch bereits im Titel den programmatischen Terminus der „Rückerinnerung" enthält.

[6] So etwa Prinz 1979, 314ff.; Welwei 2002, 31f.; Cobet 2007; Hall 2007, 93ff.

[7] Dies betrifft vor allem die Betonung der Rolle Athens.

[8] Die Siedler betraten dabei keine *terra incognita*. Vielmehr bestanden zwischen der kleinasiatischen Westküste und der Ägäis bereits seit dem Neolithikum intensivste Kontakte. Die Stadt Milet war seit der zweiten Hälfte der späten Bronzezeit (Milet V) sogar ununterbrochen von Griechen besiedelt gewesen.

[9] Als ein archäologisches Indiz für die Ionische Wanderung kann die Verbreitung der protogeometrischen Keramik in der Ägäis gewertet werden.

zu setzen, also in das 11. und 10. Jh. v. Chr., was überraschend gut der antiken "Sagenchronologie" entspricht,[10] wie sie etwa der hellenistische Gelehrte Eratosthenes (3. Jh. v. Chr.) aufstellte:

> Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ τοὺς χρόνους ὧδε ἀναγράφει· ἀπὸ μὲν Τροίας ἁλώσεως ἐπὶ Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίας κτίσιν ἔτη ἑξήκοντα· τὰ δὲ τούτοις ἑξῆς ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν ἐπιτροπίαν τὴν Λυκούργου ἔτη ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἐννέα· ἐπὶ δὲ <τὸ> προηγούμενον ἔτος τῶν πρώτων Ὀλυμπίων ἔτη ἑκατὸν ὀκτώ· ἀφ' ἧς ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἔτη διακόσια ἐνενήκοντα ἑπτά· ἀφ' ἧς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτώ· καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἦτταν ἔτη εἴκοσι ἑπτά· καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην ἔτη τριάκοντα τέσσαρα· μεθ' ἣν ἐπὶ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν ἔτη τριάκοντα πέντε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μεταλλαγὴν ἔτη δώδεκα.[11]

Ausgehend von chronologisch sicher verankerten Ereignissen, wie dem Tod Alexanders (323 v. Chr.), dem Tod Philipps II. (336 v. Chr.), der Schlacht von Leuktra (371 v. Chr.), dem Peloponnesischen Krieg (431–404 v. Chr.) oder dem Angriff der Perser unter ihrem Großkönig Xerxes (480 v. Chr.), werden hier auch Daten für früheren mythische Geschehnisse gegeben: Für das Ende des Troianischen Krieges nimmt Eratosthenes eine Datierung ins Jahr 1184/3 v. Chr. an, die Rückkehr der Herakliden setzt er in das Jahr 1104/3 v. Chr., und die Besiedlung Ioniens soll 1044/43 v. Chr. stattgefunden haben, 140 Jahre nach der Eroberung von Ilion. Andere antike Datierungsansätze weichen nur geringfügig von diesen Einschätzungen ab; so datiert etwa das *Marmor Parium* den Troianischen Krieg in die Jahre 1218/7–1209/8 v. Chr. und die Ionische Wanderung auf 1077/76 v. Chr.:

> ἀφ' οὗ Νη[λ]εὺς ᾤκισ[ε Μίλη]τ[ον καὶ τὴν] ἄλ[λ]η[ν] ἅ[πα]σ[αν Ἰωνί]αν Ἔφεσον Ἐρυθρὰς Κλαζομενὰς [Πρι]ήν[ην Λέβεδ]ον [Τέω] Κολοφῶνα [Μ]υοῦντα [Φώκ]α[ιαν] Σάμον [Χίον, καὶ] τὰ [Παν]ιώνι[α] ἐγένετο, ἔτ[η 813, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Μέ[[νεσθέως τρεισκαιδεκάτου]] <δοντος> [ἔτο]υς.[12]

Diese Inschrift spricht nun auch explizit von der Gründung der Stadt Ephesos im Rahmen der Ionischen Wanderung und schreibt diese dem athenischen Königssohn Neleus zu. Gewöhnlich wird freilich dessen Bruder Androklos mit dieser Tat in Verbindung gebracht, wie etwa Strabon in seinen *Geographika* berichtet:

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[10] Zur chronologischen Einordnung der Ionischen Wanderung in den antiken Quellen vgl. Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 391ff.

[11] Clem. Alex., *Strom*. 1.21.138. Übersetzung: „Eratosthenes beschreibt die zeitlichen Abfolgen so: von der Einnahme Troias bis zur Rückkehr der Herakliden 80 Jahre; von da bis zur Besiedlung Ioniens 60 Jahre; dann der Reihe nach 159 Jahre bis zur Gesetzgebung des Lykurgos; bis zum Hauptjahr der ersten Olympien 108 Jahre; von dieser Olympiade bis zum Übersetzen des Xerxes 297 Jahre; von diesem bis zum Beginn des Peloponnesischen Krieges 48 Jahre; und bis zu dessen Beendigung und der Niederlage der Athener 27 Jahre; und bis zur Schlacht von Leuktra 34 Jahre; nach dieser bis zum Tod Philipps 35 Jahre; danach bis zum Tod Alexanders 12 Jahre."

[12] *FGrHist* II, 239.27. Übersetzung: „Seit Neleus Milet gegründet und das ganze übrige Ionien kolonisiert hat, Ephesos, Erythrai, Klazomenai, Priene, Lebedos, Teos, Kolophon, Myous, Phokaia, Samos, Chios, und seit die Panionien das erste Mal gefeiert wurden, 813 Jahre, als Menestheus im 13. Jahr König von Athen war." Chronologischer Fixpunkt des Marmor Parium, von dem rückwärts gerechnet wird, ist das Jahr 264/3 v. Chr., in welchem die Inschrift gesetzt wurde.

ἄρξαι δέ φησιν Ἀνδροκλον τῆς τῶν Ἰώνων ἀποικίας, ὕστερον τῆς Αἰολικῆς, υἱὸν γνήσιον Κόδρου τοῦ Ἀθηνῶν βασιλέως, γενέσθαι δὲ τοῦτον Ἐφέσου κτίστην.[13]

Wie der kleinasiatische Historiker und Geograph in einer weiteren Passage kolportiert, war die Gründung der Stadt von Auseinandersetzungen mit der einheimischen Vorbevölkerung begleitet, welche der athenische Heros aus dem Gebiet der neu geschaffenen Polis vertreiben musste:

Τὴν δὲ πόλιν ᾤκουν μὲν Κᾶρές τε καὶ Λέλεγες, ἐκβαλὼν δ' ὁ Ἀνδροκλος τοὺς πλείστους ᾤκισεν ἐκ τῶν συνελθόντων αὐτῷ περὶ τὸ Ἀθήναιον καὶ τὴν Ὑπέλαιον, προσπεριλαβὼν καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν Κορησσὸν παρωρείας.[14]

Die Wahl des Ortes für die Stadtgründung war – wie so häufig – durch einen Orakelspruch beeinflusst und von märchenhaften Ereignissen begleitet. Im Fall von Ephesos sollen ein Fisch und ein Wildschwein[15] die richtige Stelle gezeigt haben, wie der ephesische Historiker Kreophylos (4./3. Jh. v. Chr.) im Referat des Athenaios berichtet, wobei er den Namen des Androklos freilich nicht explizit erwähnt:

Κρεώφυλος δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἐφεσίων Ὥροις ,οἳ τὴν Ἔφεσον, φησί, κτίζοντες καὶ πολλὰ ταλαιπωρηθέντες ἀπορίᾳ τόπου τὸ τελευταῖον πέμψαντες εἰς θεοῦ ἠρώτων ὅπου τὸ πόλισμα θῶνται. ὃ δ' αὐτοῖς ἔχρησεν ἐνταῦθα οἰκίζειν πόλιν ᾗ ἂν ἰχθὺς δείξῃ καὶ ὗς ἄγριος ὑφηγήσηται. λέγεται οὖν ὅπου νῦν ἡ κρήνη ἐστὶν Ὑπέλαιος καλουμένη καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς λιμὴν ἁλιέας ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τινὰ ἀποθορόντα σὺν ἀνθρακιᾷ εἰσπεσεῖν εἰς φορυτόν, καὶ ἁφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόχμην, ἐν ᾗ ἔτυχε σῦς ἄγριος ὤν· ὃς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς θορυβηθεὶς ἐπέδραμε τοῦ ὄρους ἐπὶ πολύ, ὁ δὴ καλεῖται Τρηχεῖα, καὶ πίπτει ἀκοντισθεὶς ὅπου νῦν ἐστιν ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ναός. καὶ διαβάντες οἱ Ἐφέσιοι ἐκ τῆς νήσου, ἔτεα εἴκοσιν οἰκήσαντες, τὸ δεύτερον [εἴκοσι] κτίζουσι Τρηχεῖαν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Κορησσόν, καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἱδρύσαντο Ἀπόλλωνός τε τοῦ Πυθίου ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι.'[16]

Welcher historische Kern steckt in der Geschichte von der Gründung der Stadt im Zuge der Ionischen Wanderung? Die Bucht von Ephesos war bereits im Neolithikum und

[13] Strab. 14.1.3. Übersetzung: „Begonnen habe mit der Koloniegründung der Ionier, welche später als die Aiolische stattgefunden habe, Androklos, ein rechtmäßiger Sohn des Kodros, des Königs von Athen, und dieser sei der Gründer von Ephesos gewesen."

[14] Strab. 14.1.21. Übersetzung: „Die Stadt bewohnten Karer und Leleger, doch Androklos vertrieb sie und siedelte die meisten der mit ihm Gekommenen um das Athenaheiligtum und die Hypelaiosquelle herum an, wobei er auch ein Stück des am Koressos gelegenen Abhangs dazu nahm."

[15] Es wurde vermutet, dass der Eber auf Artemis verweist, zumal die Göttin mit den bekanntesten Wildschweinen des griechischen Mythos, dem kalydonischen und dem erymanthischen Eber, in Verbindung steht.

[16] Ath. 8.62. Übersetzung: „Kreophylos sagt in den Annalen der Ephesier: ‚Diejenigen, die Ephesos gründeten und wegen der Armut des Ortes viel Leid zu ertragen hatten, schickten letztendlich zum Gott und fragten, wo sie die Stadt errichten sollten. Dieser trug ihnen auf, an dem Ort eine Stadt zu gründen, den ein Fisch zeigen und zu dem ein Wildschwein führen würde. Man sagt nun, dass dort, wo sich jetzt die Quelle, welche Hypelaios genannt wird, und der heilige Hafen befinden, Fischer frühstückten, und dass einer von den Fischen mitsamt einer glühenden Holzkohle weg sprang und in den Kehricht fiel und davon ein Gebüsch in Brand geriet, in dem zufällig gerade ein Wildschwein war. Dieses lief durch das Feuer aufgeschreckt lange auf das Gebirge zu, das Trecheia genannt wird, und fiel vom Speer getroffen dort nieder, wo jetzt der Tempel der Athena ist. Die Ephesier setzten von der Insel über, wo sie zwanzig Jahre gewohnt hatten, ließen sich ein zweites Mal nieder und besiedelten Trecheia und die Hänge am Koressos, und sie errichteten einen Tempel der Artemis auf dem Marktplatz und einen des Apollon Pythios am Hafen'."

in der Frühen Bronzezeit bewohnt. Siedlungsreste des Zeitraums vom späten 7./frühen 6. bis zum 3. Jt. v. Chr. konnten am südöstlich der antiken Stadt gelegenen Çukuriçi Höyük sowie am Arvalya Höyük westlich des Bülbüldağ aufgedeckt werden. In Ephesos selbst befand sich auf dem Ayasoluk vom 3. Jahrtausend an bis in hellenistische Zeit eine Siedlung. Weitere bronzezeitliche Funde traten im Areal des Artemisions zu Tage. Politisch war das ephesische Territorim während der späten Bronzezeit wohl Teil des Reiches von Arzawa, dessen Hauptstadt Apaša wiederholt mit Ephesos identifiziert wurde. Die Evidenz der hethitischen Keilschrifttexte ist für eine derartige Gleichsetzung jedoch nicht ausreichend. Für die Frage nach den ersten griechischen Siedlern in Ephesos ist der Fund einer großen Menge von protogeometrischer Keramik in einer Aufschüttung im Areal des späteren Artemistempels von besonderem Interesse, die in die Zeit vom 11. Jh. v. Chr. bis in die Zeit um 900 v. Chr. datiert.[17] Zu den Funden gehören auch Miniaturgefäße und Tierstatuetten, die ebenso auf eine kultische Nutzung des Areals bereits in dieser Zeit hindeuten wie die festgestellten Tierknochenreste, die von Opfern herrühren. Eine große Anzahl der Gefäße stammt aus Athen und belegt einen intensiven Kontakt der ersten Siedler in Ephesos mit Attika, was angesichts der literarischen Überlieferung zu Athen als Ausgangspunkt der sog. Ionischen Wanderung von besonderer Bedeutung erscheint. Bedeutsam ist aber auch, dass ca. 5% der in dieser Aufschüttung gefundenen Keramik anatolischen Charakters ist. Diese Gefäße wurden, wie archäometrische Analysen zeigten, in Ephesos oder seiner unmittelbaren Umgebung hergestellt, wohl von einer hier lebenden autochthonen Bevölkerung, die auch unter den griechischen Zuwanderern noch eine Zeitlang ihre eigenen kulturellen Traditionen bewahrte. Dies entspricht gut der literarischen Überlieferung, denn Pausanias berichtet davon, dass Androklos zwar Teile der angetroffenen Vorbevölkerung vertrieb, diejenigen, die um das Heiligtum wohnten, jedoch verschonte, nachdem sie mit den ankommenden Ioniern Frieden geschlossen hatten:

> Λέλεγες δὲ τοῦ Καρικοῦ μοῖρα καὶ Λυδῶν τὸ πολὺ οἱ νεμόμενοι τὴν χώραν ἦσαν· ᾤκουν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἄλλοι τε ἱκεσίας ἕνεκα καὶ γυναῖκες τοῦ Ἀμαζόνων γένους. Ἄνδροκλος δὲ ὁ Κόδρου—οὗτος γὰρ δὴ ἀπεδέδεικτο Ἰώνων τῶν ἐς Ἔφεσον πλευσάντων βασιλεύς—Λέλεγας μὲν καὶ Λυδοὺς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἔχοντας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν οἰκοῦσι δεῖμα ἦν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ Ἴωσιν ὅρκους δόντες καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος παρ᾽ αὐτῶν λαβόντες ἐκτὸς ἦσαν πολέμου.[18]

Die Quellen berichten auch über das weitere Schicksal des Stadtgründers Androklos, der unter anderem die Insel Samos erobert haben soll:

> Ἄνδροκλος δὲ καὶ Ἐφέσιοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ Λεώγορον τὸν Προκλέους, βασιλεύοντα μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἐν Σάμῳ, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσαντες ἐξελαύνουσιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου Σαμίους· αἰτίαν δὲ ἐπέφερον μετὰ Καρῶν σφᾶς ἐπιβουλεύειν Ἴωσι. Σαμίων δὲ τῶν φευγόντων οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ Θρᾴκῃ νῆσον ᾤκησαν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῆς ἐνοικήσεως Σαμοθρᾴκην τὴν νῆσον καλοῦσιν ἀντὶ Δαρδανίας· οἱ δὲ

[17] Zu diesem Fund vgl. Kerschner 2006, 369ff.; Forstenpointner – Kerschner – Muss 2008, 33ff.

[18] Paus. 7.2.8. Übersetzung: „Leleger, die ein Teil des karischen Volkes waren, und größtenteils Lyder bewohnten das Land; um das Heiligtum herum lebten aber auch andere des Schutzes weges und Frauen vom Stamm der Amazonen. Androklos, der Sohn des Kodros, aber – denn dieser war zum König der nach Ephesos segelnden Ioner gemacht worden – vertrieb die Leleger und die Lyder, welche die obere Stadt in ihrem Besitz hatten, aus dem Lande; diejenigen, die um das Heiligtum siedelten, hatten keine Angst, gaben den Ioniern Eide und nahmen zum Teil auch solche von ihnen entgegen und blieben außerhalb der Auseinandersetzung." Vgl. Dazu die oben schon behandelte Stelle bei Strab. 14.1.21.

ὁμοῦ Λεωγόρῳ περὶ Ἀναίαν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ τῇ πέραν βαλόμενοι τεῖχος, δέκα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον διαβάντες ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τούς τε Ἐφεσίους ἐκβάλλουσι καὶ ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν νῆσον.[19]

Schließlich soll Androklos bei Kämpfen gegen die Karer das Leben verloren haben, wie wiederum Pausanias berichtet:

ἀφείλετο δὲ καὶ Σάμον Ἀνδροκλος Σαμίους, καὶ ἔσχον Ἐφέσιοι χρόνον τινὰ Σάμον καὶ τὰς προσεχεῖς νήσους· Σαμίων δὲ ἤδη κατεληλυθότων ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα Πριηνεῦσιν ἤμυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Κᾶρας ὁ Ἀνδροκλος, καὶ νικῶντος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔπεσεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. Ἐφέσιοι δὲ ἀνελόμενοι τοῦ Ἀνδρόκλου τὸν νεκρὸν ἔθαψαν τῆς σφετέρας ἔνθα δείκνυται καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι τὸ μνῆμα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πύλας τὰς Μαγνήτιδας· ἐπίθημα δὲ τῷ μνήματι ἀνήρ ἐστιν ὡπλισμένος.[20]

Nach dem Tod des Androklos revoltierten die Bürger der Stadt gegen die Nachkommen des Stadtgründers, wie Ephoros von Kyme, ein Geschichtsschreiber des 4. Jh. v. Chr., im Referat des Stephanos von Byzanz (6. Jh. n. Chr.) berichtet:

οὗτος Πριηνεῦσι βοηθήσας ἐτελεύτησε καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ Ἐφέσιοι σὺν αὐτῷ. οἱ οὖν καταλειφθέντες Ἐφέσιοι ἐστασίασαν κατὰ τῶν Ἀνδρόκλου παίδων, καὶ βουλόμενοι βοήθειαν ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Τέω καὶ Καρήνης ἀποίκους ἔλαβον, ἀφ' ὧν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δύο φυλαὶ τῶν πέντε τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχουσιν·[21]

Freilich scheint diese Revolte – wenn sie denn tatsächlich stattgefunden hat – auf längere Sicht keine Früchte getragen zu haben, denn die Nachkommen des Androklos, die als βασιλεῖς bezeichnet wurden, waren für lange Zeit offenbar das politisch führende Geschlecht in Ephesos. Die Nachkommen des Stadtgründers genossen, wie Strabon berichtet, noch zu Beginn des ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts diverse Privilegien:

διόπερ τὸ βασίλειον τῶν Ἰώνων ἐκεῖ συστῆναί φασι, καὶ ἔτι νῦν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ὀνομάζονται βασιλεῖς ἔχοντές τινας τιμάς, προεδρίαν τε ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ πορφύραν ἐπίσημον τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους, σκίπωνα ἀντὶ σκήπτρου, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας Δήμητρος.[22]

[19] Paus. 7.4.2f. Übersetzung: „Androklos aber und die Ephesier zogen in den Krieg gegen Leogoros, den Sohn des Prokles, der nach seinem Vater in Samos herrschte, und in der Schlacht siegreich vertrieben sie die Samier von der Insel; sie brachten den Vorwand vor, dass diese mit den Karern die Ioner bedrohten. Die Samier flohen, und die einen ließen sich auf einer Insel nahe Thrakien nieder, und nach deren Besiedelung nannten sie die Insel anstatt Dardania Samothrake; die anderen aber, die bei Leogoros blieben, errichteten eine Mauer rund um Anaia, das auf dem Festland [Samos] gegenüberlag, und zehn Jahre später setzten sie nach Samos über, vertrieben die Ephesier und gewannen die Insel wieder." Vgl. dazu auch die oben bereits behandelte Stelle Paus. 7.2.8f.

[20] Paus. 7.2.8f. Übersetzung: „Androklos nahm auch Samos den Samiern weg, und die Ephesier besaßen für einige Zeit Samos und die benachbarten Inseln: als die Samier bereits wieder in ihre Heimat zurückgekehrt waren, stand Androklos den Prienern gegen die Karer bei und fiel, obwohl das griechische Heer siegte, in der Schlacht. Die Ephesier hoben die Leiche des Androklos auf und bestatteten sie in ihrem eigenen Land, wo noch zu meiner Zeit das Grabmal gezeigt wird, am Weg aus dem Heiligtum, vorbei am Olympieion und hin zum Magnesischen Tor: das Grabdenkmal stellt einen bewaffneten Mann dar."

[21] *FGrHist* 70 F 126 (Steph. Byz. s.v. Βέννα). Übersetzung: „Als dieser den Prienern zu Hilfe kam, fiel er, und viele Ephesier mit ihm. Die übrig gebliebenen Ephesier revoltierten gegen die Kinder des Androklos, und da sie gegen diese Unterstützung haben wollten, nahmen sie Siedler aus Teos und Karene auf, nach denen in Ephesos zwei von den fünf Phylen benannt sind."

[22] Strab. 14.1.3. Übersetzung: „Deshalb soll dort der Königssitz der Ionier geschaffen worden sein, und jetzt noch werden die aus diesem Geschlecht Stammenden 'Könige' genannt, und sie haben bestimmte Ehrenrechte, den Vorsitz bei den Wettspielen und den Purpur als Kennzeichen des königlichen Geschlechts, einen Stab anstelle

Als Stadtgründer bekam Androklos ein nach allgemeiner Sitte im Stadtgebiet gelegenes Ehrengrab, das offenbar Pausanias bei einem Besuch in Ephesos noch zu sehen bekam, wie die oben angeführte Stelle zeigt.[23] Wie für den κτίστης einer bedeutenden Stadt üblich, wurde dem Kodriden heroische Verehrung zuteil, unter anderem wurde offenbar jährlich ein ihm gewidmetes Fest gefeiert. Die Ehreninschrift für Tiberius Claudius Marcianus[24] erwähnt den ἡ τοῦ Ἀνδρόκλου ἡμέρα, einen dem Androklos geweihten Tag, an welchem alle Gymnasien der Stadt vom Geehrten Ölspenden bekamen. Das zeigt, dass dieses besondere Fest noch in der hohen Kaiserzeit wohl auch mit gymnischen Spielen begangen wurde.

Der mythische κτίστης Androklos wurde im Laufe der Zeit zu einer wesentlichen Identifikationsfigur. Besonders in poetischen Texten wurde auf seine Tat Bezug genommen bzw. Ephesos als Stadt des Androklos (πόλις Ἀνδρόκλοιο) bezeichnet, wie etwa in einem Epigramm des Antipatros (*Anth. Graec*. 9.790) aus dem 2. Jh. v. Chr.:

Τίς ποκ' ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο μετάγαγε παρθενεῶνα
τὸν πάρος οὐρανίοις ἐμβεβαῶτα δόμοις
ἐς πόλιν Ἀνδρόκλοιο, θοῶν βασίλειαν Ἰώνων,
τὰν δορὶ καὶ Μούσαις αἰπυτάταν Ἔφεσον;
ἦ ῥα σὺ φιλαμένα, Τιτυοκτόνε, μέζον Ὀλύμπου
τὰν τροφόν, ἐν ταύτᾳ τὸν σὸν ἔθευ θάλαμον.[25]

Als androkleische Stadt (Ἀνδροκλείος πόλις) wird Ephesos auch in einem inschriftlich überlieferten Gebet für die Prytanin Tullia (IvE 1064) charakterisiert:

ὦ τῆς ἀρίστης Ἀνδροκλείου καὶ σοφῆς
δαῖμον πόληος, Ἐστί' ἀειπάρθενε,
σύ τ', ὦ θεῶν μέγιστον οὔνομ' Ἄρτεμι,

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eines Szepters und [die Leitung im] Kult der eleusinischen Demeter." Dass das Geschlecht des Androklos zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch existierte und nicht wie viele andere alte Adelsfamilien bereits ausgestorben war, ist auf alle Fälle erstaunlich. Das Vorhandensein derartiger Ehrenrechte ist jedenfalls ein Hinweis darauf, dass das Königsgeschlecht nicht revolutionär beseitigt wurde, denn in diesem Fall wäre es wohl aller Vorrechte verlustig gegangen.

[23] Die genaue Lage dieses Grabes ist umstritten. Thür 1995 identifiziert ein Heroon des Androklos an der sog. „Kuretenstraße" (*Embolos*). Gegen eine Lokalisierung des von Pausanias beschriebenen Androklosgrabes im Zentrum der Stadt wendet sich Engelmann 1996a, dem freilich Knibbe 2002 widerspricht. Vermutlich ist es eher am Panayır Dağ zu lokalisieren. Ob es sich bei dem in SEG 34.1107, Z. 9 genannten *Androkleion* um dieses Grab des Androklos handelt, muss offen bleiben.

[24] IvE 644: τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγί[σ]- | της μητροπόλεως τῆς | Ἀσίας καὶ δὶς νεωκόρου | τῶν Σεβαστῶν Ἐφεσίων | 5 πόλεως ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ | δῆμος ἐτείμησαν | Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον | Μαρκιανόν, | παραφυλάξαντα φιλοτεί- | 10 μως καὶ ἐλαιοθετήσαντα | ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς γυμνασίοις | τῇ τοῦ Ἀνδρόκλου ἡμέρᾳ· | τὴν τειμὴν ἀναστήσαντος | Αἰλίου Μηνοφίλου τοῦ φίλου | 15 αὐτοῦ καθὼς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ὑπέ- | σχετο. Übersetzung: „Der Rat und das Volk der Stadt der Ephesier, der ersten und größten Metropole Asiens und zweimaligen Tempelpflegerin der Kaiser, ehren Tiberius Claudius Marcianus, der eifrig bemüht als παραφύλαξ diente und am Tag des Androklos in allen Gymnasien Öl spendete. Die Ehrung errichtete sein Freund Aelius Menophilus, so wie er es in der Ratsversammlung versprochen hat."

[25] Übersetzung: „Wer hat einst vom Olymp versetzt den Parthenon, der vorher in den himmlischen Wohnstätten verankert war, in die Stadt des Androklos, die Königin der flinken Ionier, das im Krieg und in den Musenkünsten höchste Ephesos? Gewiss also hast du, Tityostöterin, mehr als den Olymp deine Amme geliebt, wo du gewöhnlich deine Wohnstatt hattest." Dieses Gedicht, das vom Artemistempel, der hier in Anspielung auf seine jungfräuliche Inhaberin "Parthenon" genannt wird, handelt, nimmt mit der Bezeichnung der Stadt als „Amme" der Göttin auch auf den Mythos von der Geburt der Artemis im Hain Ortygia bei Ephesos Bezug (siehe dazu weiter unten).

τῇ Τυλλίᾳ γείνοισθ’ ἀρωγοὶ πανταχοῦ,
ἀνθ’ ὧν προθύμως ἐπρυτάνευσ’ ὑμῶν ἄδην,
τὸν πλοῦτον εἰς πᾶν πρᾶγμ’ ἀναλοῦσ’ ἀφθόνως.[26]

Die Einwohner der Stadt werden als Androkliden bezeichnet, so etwa in die Inschrift IvE 1548 auf der Statuenbasis für den Sophisten Soteros (2. Jh. n. Chr.)

Σώτηρο[ν]
τὸν σοφιστ[ὴν]
κατὰ ψήφισμα τῆ[ς]
βουλῆς, κ[ατ’ ἐπίδοσιν]
τῶν μαθ[ητῶν]
Τ(ίτος) Φλ(άουιος) Ὑψικλῆς Τι(βέριος)
Ῥόδιος [[ ]]
Τ(ίτος) Φλ(άουιος) Πλαγκιανὸς Ἐφέσιος
Ῥόδιος Πρεῖσκος
Τι(βέριος) Κλ(αύδιος) Καλλίξενος Κιλβιανός
Ἱεραπολίτης Κλ(αύδιος) Σάλβιος
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἄτταλος Φωκαεύς
Νεικαεύς Αἴλ(ιος) Λυκεῖνος
Λεί(ουιος) Μάρκελλος Ἀνκυρανός
Ἀντιοχεύς Μεττιανὸ[ς]
κόλων Καύνιος
δίς με σοφιστὴν πρῶτον
Ἀθήνηθεν καλέσαντο
Σώτηρον βουλῆς δόγμα-
σιν Ἀνδροκλίδαι·
πρώτῳ δὲ ἀντ’ ἀρετῆς τε
βίου σοφίης τε λόγο[ιο]
ὥρισαν ἐν τιμαῖς μυρί[α]
δῶρα τελεῖν.[27]

Dies ist auch die Fall in die Inschrift IvE 3079, aus antoninischer Zeit, in der P. Vedius Papianus Antoninus, genannt „der Erblasser“, geehrt wird:

[τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης μη]-
a [τροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δὶς]
[νεωκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν Ἐφε]-
1 [σ]ίων πόλεως ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ-

[26] Übersetzung: „O du Göttin der besten, von Androklos gegründeten und weisen Stadt, immer jungfräuliche Hestia, und du, o größte Person unter den Göttern, Artemis, seid immer und überall Helfer der Tullia zum Dank dafür, dass sie bereitwillig und reichlich bei euch Prytanis gewesen ist, indem sie ihren Reichtum zu jedem guten Zweck reichlich verwendet hat.“

[27] Übersetzung: „Den Sophisten Soteros [ehren] gemäß des Beschlusses des Rates und entsprechend der Stiftung der Schüler: Titos Flavios Hypsikles aus Rhodos, Titos Flavios Plagkianos (Plancianus) aus Rhodos, Tiberios Klaudios Kallixenos aus Hierapolis, Aurelios Attalos aus Nikaia, Livios Markellos aus Colonia Caesarea Antiochia in Pisidien, Tiberios [[...]] aus Ephesos, Priskos aus Kilbianoi, Klaudios Salvios aus Phokaia, Ailios Lykenos aus Ankyra, Mettianos aus Kaunos. Zweimal haben mich die Androkliden durch Ratsbeschlüsse als angesehensten Sophisten aus Athen eingeladen; als erstem haben sie [mir] um der Tugend der Lebensführung und der Weisheit der Rede willen 10.000 Sesterzen zu bezahlen beschlossen.“

μος ἐτείμησαν
Πό(πλιον) Οὐήδιον ❦
Παπιανὸν Ἀν-
5 τωνῖνον τὸν
κράτιστον συν-
κλητικόν, τὸν ἐκ
προγόνων εὐεργέ-
την καὶ κτίστην
10 τῆς πατρίδος ❦ ἡ-
μῶν· οἱ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ
πραγματευόμε-
νοι ❦ Ἀνδροκλεῖ-
δαι ❦ ἀνέστησαν.[28]

Außerdem ist der Umstand bemerkenswert, dass sich Stifter und Bauherren späterer Perioden mit dem Heros symbolisch auf eine Stufe gestellt haben und sich damit quasi als neue Stadtgründer feiern ließen. Dies zeigt etwa das Epigramm auf Messalinus, den Prokonsul der Provinz *Asia* und Wiederhersteller des Theaters, im 4. Jh. n. Chr. (IvE 2044):

ΧΡ
τὴν βριαρὴν ἀψῖδα, τὸ καρτερὸν ἔρμα θεάτρου,
δέρκεο καὶ θαύμαζε τὸν ἄξιον οἰκιστῆρα
τηλεφανοῦς Ἐφέσου, προφερέστερον Ἀνδρόκλοιο,
5 Μεσσαλῖνον, μεγάλης Ἀσίης μέγαν ἰθυντῆρα.[29]

Innerhalb der Stadt wurde Androklos durch zahlreiche Denkmäler geehrt.[30] So haben etwa die παραφύλακες in der hohen Kaiserzeit eine Statue des Stadtgründers erneuert, wie die Inschrift auf der erhaltenen Basis des Standbildes belegt (IvE 501):

Ἄνδροκλον
τὸν τῆς πόλεως
κτίστην
οἱ περὶ Αὐρ(ήλιον) Νεικόστρατον τὸν
5 καὶ Εὐπάλιν Εὐπαλίου φιλο-
σέβαστον παραφύλακες
ἀνενεώσαντο.[31]

Die Giebelreliefs eines monumentalen Brunnens, der offenbar dem Heros geweiht war, am unteren Embolos zeigen die Kämpfe des Androklos gegen die Karer und Leleger.

[28] Übersetzung: „Der Rat und das Volk der ersten und grüßten Metropole der Provinz Asia und der Stadt der Ephesier, die zum zweiten Mal die Neokorie für den Kaiserkult innerhat, haben den Vedius Papianus Antoninus, den vornehmsten Senator und Wohltäter seit den Zeiten der Vorfahren und den Gründer unserer Heimat geehrt. Die and diesem Ort Handel treibenden Androkliden haben (dies) errichtet."

[29] Übersetzung: „Das gewaltige Halbrund, die starke Stützmauer des Theaters sieh an und bewundere den würdigen Gründer des weithin sichtbaren Ephesos, der Androklos übertrifft, Messalinus, den großen Lenker der großen (Provinz) Asia."

[30] Siehe dazu Rathmayr 2010.

[31] Übersetzung: „Androklos, den Gründer der Stadt, (scil. die Statue des. A., des Gründers der Stadt) haben die παραφύλακες um Aurelius Nicostratus, der auch Eupalis, Sohn des Eupalios, genannt wird, den kaiserliebenden, erneuert."

In der Vorhalle des Hadrianstempels, der sich schräg gegenüber des Brunnens befindet, zeigen Relliefdarstellungen ebenfalls den Gründerheros der Stadt. Auf Block A sind der Gründugnsmythos mit der Tötung des Ebers durch Androklos und die Quelle Hypelaia zu sehen, weitere Blöcke zeigen die Amazonen (siehe zu diesen weiter unten) und eine Versammlung von Göttern und Heroen.[32]

Besonders aufschlussreich ist die Rolle, welche der κτίστης in der ephesischen Münzprägung spielte. Darstellungen des Androklos finden sich auf ephesischen Münzen von Hadrian bis Gallienus, in dessen Regierungszeit die lokalen Münzprägungen zum Erliegen kamen. Er wird stets auf dem Revers abgebildet, oft mit der Beischrift „ΑΝΔΡΟΚΛΟC ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ". Er steht entweder vor einem Olivenbaum, einen Speer über die Schulter gelegt und mit der rechten Hand den toten Eber haltend, oder wird als Reiter mit einer Lanze bei der Jagd auf den Eber gezeigt. Im 3. Jh erscheint Androklos, mit einer Lanze gegen den Eber kämpfend und manchmal von einem Jagdhund begleitet, auf Münzen von Ephesos und Samos. Ein weiterer Münztyp zeigt die ephesischen Heroen Koressos und Androklos, die sich die Hände reichen.

Auf den kaiserzeitlichen *Homonoia*-Prägungen von Ephesos taucht Androklos als Repräsentant und Stellvertreter der Stadt auf. Auch eine Chiliastys wurde offenbar nach Androklos benannt.[33]

Die Amazonen als Stadtgründerinnen

Eine bedeutende Rolle spielen in der Überlieferung zur frühen Geschichte von Ephesos auch die Amazonen, die vor allem mit der Gründung des dortigen Artemisheiligtums in Verbindung gebracht werden. Der früheste Quellentext, welcher diese Erzählung direkt überliefert,[34] ist der *Artemishymus* des Kallimachos aus dem 3. Jh. v. Chr.:

> σοὶ καὶ Ἀμαζονίδες πολέμου ἐπιθυμήτειραι
> ἔν κοτε παρραλίῃ Ἐφέσῳ βρέτας ἱδρύσαντο
> φηγῷ ὑπὸ πρέμνῳ, τέλεσεν δέ τοι ἱερὸν Ἵππώ
> αὐταὶ δ', Οὖπι ἄνασσα,[35] περὶ πρύλιν ὠρχήσαντο
> πρῶτα μὲν ἐν σακέεσσιν ἐνόπλιον, αὖθι δὲ κύκλῳ
> στησάμεναι χορὸν εὐρύν· ὑπήεισαν δὲ λίγειαι
> λεπταλέον σύριγγες, ἵνα ῥήσσωσιν ὁμαρτῇ
> (οὐ γάρ πω νέβρεια δι' ὀστέα τετρήναντο,
> ἔργον Ἀθηναίης ἐλάφῳ κακόν) · ἔδραμε δ' ἠχώ
> Σάρδιας ἔς τε νομὸν Βερεκύνθιον. αἱ δὲ πόδεσσιν
> οὖλα κατεκροτάλιζον, ἐπεψόφεον δὲ φαρέτραι.[36]

[32] Grundlegend zum Hadrianstempel ist Quatember 2017.

[33] Siehe zu den Chiliastyen: Engelmann 1996b.

[34] Bereits im 5. Jh. v. Chr. hat offenbar Pindar die Amazonen als Gründerinnen des Artemisions angesehen, doch ist dies nur im Referat des Pausanias überliefert: Paus. 7.2.7. Siehe dazu weiter unten.

[35] Upis ist ein Beiname der Artemis, vgl. dazu Radke 1961.

[36] Kall. Dian. 237–247. Übersetzung: „Die Amazonen, die nach Krieg verlangen, haben dir im am Meer gelegenen Ephesos einst am Fuß eines Eichenstamms ein hölzernes Kultbild errichtet, das Heiligtum hat also Hippo fertig gestellt; sie tanzten, o Herrin Upis, rundherum einen Waffentanz, erst in voller Rüstung

Kallimachos berichtet, dass die Amazonen zunächst an einem Baumstamm ein Kultbild errichteten, um das sie Tänze vollführten, erst später wurde der Tempel gebaut. Dass dieser ursprünglich an einem Baum entstand, davon erzählt im 2. Jh. n. Chr. auch der Geograph Dionysios von Alexandria (*Dionysios Perihegetes*), doch nennt er im Gegensatz zu Kallimachos, der von einer Eiche spricht, eine Ulme:

> τάων δ' ἀμφοτέρων γε βορειοτέρην ἐσίδοιο
> παραλίην Ἔφεσον, μεγάλην πόλιν Ἰοχεαίρης,
> ἔνθα θεῇ ποτε νηὸν Ἀμαζονίδες τετύκοντο
> πρέμνῳ ἔνι πτελέης, περιώσιον ἀνδράσι θαῦμα.[37]

In der antiken Literatur finden sich zahlreiche weitere, meist summarische und wenig detaillierte Verweise auf die Amazonen als Begründerinnen des Artemiskults bzw. Erbauerinnen des Tempels in Ephesos, so etwa bei Pomponius Mela (1. Jh. n. Chr.):

> Ibi Ephesus et Dianae clarissimum templum, quod Amazones Asia potitae consecrasse traduntur; …[38]

Bisweilen werden die Amazonen nicht mit dem Artemistempel im Speziellen, sondern allgemein mit der Gründung der Stadt in Verbindung gebracht, so etwa in der *naturalis historia* des älteren Plinius (1. Jh. n. Chr.):

> in ora autem Matium, Ephesus, Amazonum opus, multis antea expetita nominibus, Alopes, cum pugnatum apud Troiam est, mox Ortygiae, Amorges.[39]

In der Überlieferung werden verschiedentlich auch die Namen der für die Gründung von Ephesos verantwortlichen Amazonen genannt, bei Kallimachos ist es *Hippo*, Hyginus (2. Jh. n. Chr.)[40] nennt *Otrere*, eine Königin der Amazonen und Gemahlin des Kriegsgottes, während schließlich das *Etymologicum Magnum*, welches das Toponym

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mit ihren Schildern, dann stellten sie den breiten Chor im Kreis auf; dazu sangen zart die hell tönenden Syringes, damit sie zugleich stampften (allerdings durchbohrten sie [für diese Flöten] noch nicht die Knochen vom Hirschkalb, ein für den Hirsch übles Werk der Athena); das Echo drang bis nach Sardes und in den berekynthischen Distrikt. Sie klatschten kräftig mit den Füßen (scil. auf den Boden) und die Köcher klapperten."

[37] Dionys., *Per*. 827ff. Übersetzung: „Nördlicher als die beiden erblickst du das am Meer gelegene Ephesos, die große Stadt der Pfeile schießenden [Artemis], wo die Amazonen einst der Göttin einen Tempel erbaut haben am Stamm einer Ulme, ein übermäßiges Wunder für die Menschen." Vgl. dazu auch den Kommentar des Eustathios (Eustat., *ad Dion*. 823.33ff.). Dieser Baum besaß im frühen Artemision als Kultmal eine integrale Bedeutung.

[38] Pomp. Mela 1.88. Übersetzung: „Hier liegen Ephesus und der hochberühmte Artemistempel, den die Amazonen bei der Eroberung Asiens geweiht haben sollen." Andere Autoren, die in diesem Zusammenhang zu nennen sind, sind etwa Lucius Ampelius (8.18) oder Claudius Solinus (40.2).

[39] Plin., *nat*. 5.115. Übersetzung: „An der Küste liegt auch Matium, [dann] Ephesus, eine Gründung der Amazonen, früher mit vielen Namen bezeichnet: Alopes, [zur Zeit] als bei Troia gekämpft wurde, dann Ortygia, [hierauf] Amorges." Solche kurzen Berichte finden sich bis in die byzantinische Zeit. Eine relativ späte Belegstelle ist etwa Isidor von Sevilla (15.1.39).

[40] Hyg., *fab*. 225. Die gleiche Information bietet auch Hyg., *fab*. 223. Otrere gilt nach Apollod., *Bibl. Epit*. 5.1 und Hyg., *fab*. 112 als Mutter der Penthesileia, nach Hyg., *fab*. 30 als Mutter der Hippolyte. Bei *Schol. Hom*. Il. 3.189 bzw. *Schol. Apoll. Rhod*. 2.1031 wird sie jedoch selbst als Tochter des Ares bezeichnet.

auch von einem frühen Bewohner der Polis abgeleitet,[41] von einer eponymen Amazone *Ephesos* spricht:[42]

> Ἔφεσος: Ἡ πόλις· ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου ἐκεῖσε καπηλεύοντος καὶ φιλοξενοῦντος τοὺς παριόντας, καὶ πάντας λέγοντος πρὸς Ἔφεσον στέλλεσθαι. Ἢ ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου Λυδῆς Ἀμαζόνος, ἣ πρώτη Ἄρτεμιν ἐτίμησε καὶ ὠνόμασεν Ἐφεσίαν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τοὺς οἰκοῦντας καὶ τὴν πόλιν κληθῆναι. Ἢ ὅτι Θησεὺς συστρατεύσας Ἡρακλεῖ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἱππολύτης ζωστῆρα, ἐδίωξε τὰς Ἀμαζόνας ἄχρι Λυδίας· κἀκεῖ καταφευγούσας ἐπί τινα βωμὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, δεῖσθαι σωτηρίας τυχεῖν, τὴν δὲ ἐφεῖναι αὐταῖς τὴν σωτηρίαν· ὅθεν Ἔφεσον κληθῆναι τὸ χωρίον, καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν Ἐφεσίαν.[43]

In diesem Text, der einem wohl im 12. Jh. kompilierten byzantinischen Lexikon entnommen ist, ist nicht nur von der Benennung der Stadt nach einer Gründerin aus dem Volk der Amazonen die Rede, sondern es wird auch die Geschichte referiert, dass die Amazonen vor Theseus an den Altar der Artemis in Ephesos geflohen seien, und dass der Name von Ort und Heiligtum in Zusammenhang mit diesen Geschehnissen zu sehen und mit dem griechischen Terminus ἐφεῖναι zu verbinden seien. Interessanterweise findet sich diese Verbindung noch ein zweites Mal in der antiken Überlieferung, nämlich bei Herakleides Lembos (2. Jh. v. Chr.), doch steht sie dann nicht in Zusammenhang mit der Errettung vor einem Verfolger, sondern mit der Zuweisung bzw. Überlassung von Land:

> Ἔφεσον κληθῆναί φασιν ἀπὸ μιᾶς τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ταῖς Ἀμαζόσιν ἐφεῖναι τὰ ἀπὸ Μυκάλης ἕως Πιτάνης.[44]

Von den schutzflehenden Amazonen berichtet auch Pausanias (2. Jh. n. Chr.), der den Mythos von der Gründung des Heiligtums durch die kriegerischen Frauen, wie ihn offenbar Pindar besungen hat, verwirft. Vielmehr betrachtet der Periheget einen Einheimischen

[41] Nach Claudius Aelianus (Ael., *var*. 8.5) geht die Benennung der Stadt freilich auf die vor den Griechen dort lebenden Barbaren zurück. Diese Ansicht trifft möglicherweise zum Teil die Wahrheit, denn das Toponym Ephesos könnte auf den vorgriechischen Ortsnamen Apaša zurückgehen, mit welchem in den hethitischen Texten der späten Bronzezeit die Hauptstadt des vom Hethiterkönig Muršili II. eroberten Reiches von Arzawa bezeichnet wurde. Vgl. dazu Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 113. Archäologisch konnte die Stadt Apaša auf dem Territorium von Ephesos allerdings bisher noch nicht eindeutig lokalisiert werden, und so muss diese Gleichsetzung bis zur Erbringung eines sicheren Beweises als fraglich gelten. Vielleicht sind die auf dem Ayasuluk aufgedeckten Reste einer prähistorischen Siedlung mit der Stadt Apaša in Verbindung zu bringen. Vgl. dazu zusammenfassend Scherrer 2007, 323ff. Die Frage, ob der Name Apaša in irgendeiner Form mit lat. *apis* "Biene" zu verbinden ist, wie die etwa Karwiese 1995, 14f. vermutet, muss offen bleiben. Die spätere Rolle der Biene als heiliges Tier der Artemis und – etwa in der Münzprägung – als Symbol der Stadt sowie der Bezug auf diese Tiere z.B. in Rahmen der Bezeichnung von Funktionären des Artemiskults mag aber nur als ein vager Hinweis in diese Richtung gelten.

[42] Auch Herakleid., *Lemb*. 66 nennt eine eponyme Amazone. Siehe dazu weiter unten.

[43] Etym. Mag. s.v. Ἔφεσος. Übersetzung: „Ephesos: Die Stadt ist benannt nach einem Mann namens Ephesos, der dort einen kleinen Laden besaß und die Vorüberkommenden gastfreundlich bewirtete und sagte, dass alle zu Ephesos kommen sollten. Oder nach der Amazone Ephesos, einer Lyderin, die als erste die Artemis verehrte und 'die Ephesische' nannte; nach der Amazone werden die Bewohner und die Stadt benannt. Oder weil Theseus, nachdem er gemeinsam mit Herakles wegen des Gürtels der Hippolyte ins Feld gezogen war, die Amazonen bis Lydien verfolgte; und dort flüchteten sie sich an den Altar der Artemis und baten um Rettung. Diese [Artemis] habe ihnen die Rettung gewährt, und von daher heißt der Ort Ephesos und die Artemis »die Ephesische« ."

[44] Heraclid., *Lemb*. 66. Übersetzung: „Die einen sagen, dass Ephesos nach einer der Amazonen benannt ist, den anderen zufolge davon, dass Herakles den Amazonen das Gebiet von Mykale bis Pitane überließ."

namens Koressos und einen eponymen Ephesos, einen Sohn des Flusses Kaystros, als die Gründer des Artemisions:[45]

> οὐ μὴν πάντα γε τὰ ἐς τὴν θεὸν ἐπύθετο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Πίνδαρος, ὃς Ἀμαζόνας τὸ ἱερὸν ἔφη τοῦτο ἱδρύσασθαι στρατευομένας ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας τε καὶ Θησέα. αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος γυναῖκες[46] ἔθυσαν μὲν καὶ τότε τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ θεῷ, ἅτε ἐπιστάμεναι [τε] ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ ἡνίκα Ἡρακλέα ἔφυγον, αἱ δὲ καὶ Διόνυσον τὰ ἔτι ἀρχαιότερα, ἱκέτιδες ἐνταῦθα ἐλθοῦσαι·οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ Ἀμαζόνων γε ἱδρύθη, Κόρησος δὲ αὐτόχθων καὶ Ἔφεσος – Καΰστρου δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν Ἔφεσον παῖδα εἶναι νομίζουσιν –, οὗτοι τὸ ἱερόν εἰσιν οἱ ἱδρυσάμενοι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐφέσου τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι τῇ πόλει.[47]

Die Tradition der Amazonen, die Schutz vor Verfolgern suchten, diente in besonderer Weise der Legitimation und Bestätigung des hohen Alters des ephesischen Asylrechts.[48]

Schließlich verbindet eine dritte – allerdings späte und nicht weit verbreitete – Tradition die Amazonen mit Ephesos, welche die Kriegerinnen als Eroberinnen der Stadt und als Zerstörerinnen des Heiligtums nennt, so etwa im *Chronikon* des Kirchenvaters Eusebius (3./4. Jh. n. Chr.). In der lateinischen Übersetzung des verlorenen griechischen Originals, die Hieronymus (4./5. Jh. n. Chr.) anfertigte, wird nämlich für das Jahr 871 nach der von Eusebius 2016 v. Chr. angenommenen Geburt Abrahams (was umgerechnet dem Jahr 1146/5 v. Chr. entspricht) Folgendes berichtet:

> Amazones Efesi templum incenderunt.[49]

Auch an späterer Stelle ist in diesem Werk nochmals von den Amazonen die Rede. Für das Jahr 940 (1077/6 v. Chr.) wird nämlich außerdem überliefert:

> Incursus in Asiam Amazonum pariter et Cimmeriorum.[50]

Der Einfall der Amazonen in Kleinasien[51] wird hier also mit dem Kommen der Kimmerier verbunden.[52] Freilicht setzt der Kirchenvater damit den Kimmeriersturm

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[45] Indirekt verweist dieser Ursprungsmythos freilich wiederum auf die Amazonen, denn Kaystros soll nach Et. Mag. s.v. Κάϋστρος der Sohn der Amazone Penthesileia sein.

[46] Gemeint sind damit die Amazonen, die hier nach einem Fluss, an dem ihre Heimat liegt, benannt werden.

[47] Paus. 7.2.7. Übersetzung: „Denn nicht alles hat, scheint mir, Pindar über die Göttin erfahren, welcher sagte, dass die Amazonen dieses Heiligtum gegründet hätten, als sie gegen Athen und Theseus zogen. Die Frauen von Thermodon opferten nämlich damals schon der ephesischen Göttin, da sie schon seit alters her das Heiligtum kannten, und als sie vor Herakles flohen – die, die vor Dionysos flüchteten noch früher –, da kamen sie als Schutzflehende hierher. Es ist also nicht von den Amazonen gegründet worden, sondern Koresos, einer der Einheimischen, und Ephesos – sie glauben, dass Ephesos ein Sohn des Flusses Kaystros ist – haben das Heiligtum gegründet, und von Ephesos hat die Stadt ihren Namen."

[48] Siehe dazu auch den Exkurs weiter unten.

[49] Übersetzung: „Die Amazonen haben in Ephesos den Tempel in Brand gesteckt." Auffällig ist das frühe Datum, das Eusebius angibt. Ob zu diesem Zeitpunkt an der Stelle des späteren Artemisions überhaupt bereits ein Heiligtum stand, muss freilich fraglich bleiben.

[50] Übersetzung: „Einfall der Amazonen nach Asien gleichzeitig mit den Kimmeriern."

[51] Ein kriegerischer Einfall der Amazonen nach Westkleinasien ist natürlich für viele Überlieferungen um das legendäre Frauenvolk in Ephesos eine – wenn auch nicht immer deutlich ausgesprochene – Voraussetzung, so etwa im Fall der Geschichten von ihrer Asylsuche vor Dionysos, Herakles und Theseus.

[52] Die engen Kontakten des Heiligtums mit Reiternomaden wie den Kimmeriern, die im 7. Jh. v. Chr. nach Ephesos kamen, können durchaus den historischen Hintergrund der Überlieferung von den Amazonen bilden.

des 7. Jh. v. Chr. viel zu früh an. Andere Autoren folgten Eusebius in dieser Verbindung der Amazonen mit den Kimmeriern, die sich etwa noch im 8. Jh. bei Georgios Synkellos findet:

> Ἀμαζόνες τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐπῆλθον ἅμα Κιμμερίοις. αὗται καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἱερὸν προενέπρησαν.[53]

Nicht explizit als Zerstörerinnen von Tempel und/oder Heiligtum, aber doch als Eroberinnen der Stadt finden sich die Amazonen freilich schon früher in den Quellen, und auch in diesem Kontext werden sie mit der Herkunft des Stadtnamens in Verbindung gebracht. Bekannt ist dabei etwa die Ortsbezeichnung Smyrna, bei der es sich sogar um einen früheren Namen der Stadt handeln soll, wie Strabon berichtet:

> Σμύρνα δ' ἦν Ἀμαζὼν ἡ κατασχοῦσα τὴν Ἔφεσον, ἀφ' ἧς τοὔνομα καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τῇ πόλει, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ Σισύρβης Σισυρβῖται τινὲς τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐλέγοντο· καὶ τόπος δέ τις τῆς Ἐφέσου Σμύρνα ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς δηλοῖ Ἱππῶναξ[54] 'ᾧκει δ' ὄπισθε τῆς πόλιος ἐνὶ Σμύρνῃ μεταξὺ Τρηχείης τε καὶ Λεπρῆς ἀκτῆς.'[55]

Vom Stadtteil *Smyrna* bzw. diesem alten Namen der Stadt berichtet auch Eustathios (12. Jh. n. Chr.) in seinem Kommentar zur Weltbeschreibung des Dionysios. Auch ihm zufolge kam diese Bezeichnung von einer Amazone, welche die Stadt erobert haben soll:

> Καὶ ἡ Σμύρνα δὲ Ἀμαζὼν οὖσα καὶ αὐτὴ κατασχεῖν τὴν Ἔφεσον λέγεται, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ Σμύρνα τόπος Ἐφέσου. Καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Ἔφεσον Σμύρναν κληθῆναί ποτε λέγουσι.[56]

Siehe dazu Fischer 2013, 35ff. Auf Kontakte mit reitenden Steppennomaden deuten auch Funde dieser Zeit aus dem Artemision hin, darunter Kultbasen, an denen Pferdeopfer vollzogen wurden und Pferdegeschirr, das im skythischen Tierstil verziert ist.

[53] Synkell. 208.3f. Übersetzung: „Die Amazonen fielen in Asien ein gleichzeitig mit den Kimmeriern. Diese haben vorher den Tempel in Ephesos angezündet."

[54] Hipponax, *fr*. 50 West. Also kannte schon der Lyriker Hipponax, der aus Ephesos stammte, im 6. Jh. v. Chr. diesen Namen. Wie alt freilich die Überlieferung einer eponymen Amazone ist, muss fraglich bleiben.

[55] Strab. 14.1.4. Übersetzung: „Smyrna war die Amazone, die Ephesos in Besitz genommen hatte, nach ihr hatten sowohl die Menschen wie auch die Stadt ihren Namen, so wie auch nach Sisyrbe einige der Ephesier Sisyrbiten genannt wurden; und es gab eine bestimmte Örtlichkeit in Ephesos, die Smyrna hieß, wie Hipponax zeigt: »er wohnt hinter der Stadt in Smyrna zwischen Tracheia und Lepre Akte« ."

[56] Eustat., *ad. Dion*. 828.12ff. Übersetzung: „Auch Smyrna war eine der Amazonen, und diese soll Ephesos erobert haben, und nach ihr gibt es in Ephesos einen Ort namens Smyrna. Auch Ephesos selbst soll einmal Smyrna genannt worden sein." Vgl. dazu Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἔφεσος: Ἔφεσος, πόλις Ἰωνίας ἐπιφανεστάτη καὶ λιμὴν ἐν κόλπῳ. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ Λυδίας αὐτήν φησιν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Σμύρνα ἀπὸ Σμύρνης τῆς Ἀμαζόνος. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Σάμορνα καὶ Τρηχεῖ καὶ Ὀρτυγία καὶ Πτελέα, ἧς ὁ πολίτης Πτελεαῖος. ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἐκεῖ. καὶ Πτελεάτης ὁ πολίτης. τὸ ἐθνικὸν τοῦ Σάμορνα Σαμορναῖος. ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ μιᾶς τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, ἣν καὶ βασίλισσαν καὶ πρόπολον Ἀρτέμιδος εναί φασιν. ἐσχηκέναι δὲ καὶ θυγατέρα Ἀμαζώ, ἀφ' ἧς αἱ Ἀμαζόνες. „Ephesos, die bedeutendste Stadt Ioniens und ein in einer Meeresbucht gelegener Hafen. Herodot sagt, dass sie zu Lydien gehört. Sie wird Smyrna genannt nach der der Amazone Smyrne. Sie wird auch Samorna genannt und Trecheia und Ortygia und Ptelea, und der Bewohner danach Pteleaios. Es gab dort auch einen Tempel der Artemis. Der Bürger wurde auch als Pteleates bezeichnet. Das von Samorna abgeleitete Ethnikon ist Samornaios. Sie wurde benannt nach einer der Amazonen, die sowohl Königin als auch Priesterin der Artemis gewesen sein soll. Sie hatte auch eine Tochter namens Amazo, nach der die Amazonen benannt sind." Nach Steph. Byz., s.v. Σίσυρβα soll auch die Bezeichnung des Stadtteils Σίσυρβα von einem Amazonennamen abgeleitet sein:

Insgesamt kann konstatiert werden, dass der Mythos von den Amazonen – vor allem in ihrer Rolle als legendäre Stadtgründerinnen – von enormer Wirkmächtigkeit war. Dies belegt nicht zuletzt die Rolle, welche die Kriegerinnen in der ephesischen Münzprägung spielten, besonders ihre Funktion als Symbole der Stadt im Rahmen der *Homonoia*-Prägungen.[57] Gerade in Westkleinasien ist eine solche Überlieferung nicht ungewöhnlich, da man das kriegerische Frauenvolk besonders in dieser Gegend mit zahlreichen Stadtgründungen in Verbindung brachte, etwa im Fall von Kyme oder Smyrna.[58] Die Amazonen sind in diesem Zusammenhang – im Gegensatz zur mutterländischen Überlieferung – auch kaum negativ konnotiert, sondern sie dienen dazu, die Geschichte des betroffenen Ortes in eine besonders alte und ehrwürdige Tradition einzubetten.[59]

Wie Androklos spielten die Amazonen von Ephesos auch in der Kunst eine wichtige Rolle. Als um die Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. nach 120-jähriger Bauzeit der bereits in den 70er-Jahren des 6. Jh. v. Chr. begonnene Artemistempel fertiggestellt wurde, wurde der Überlieferung zufolge ein außergewöhnlicher Künstlerwettbewerb ausgetragen. Den Teilnehmern wurde die Aufgabe gestellt, eine verwundete Amazone darzustellen, und die besten Bildhauer jener Zeit – Phidias, Polyklet, Kresilas, Kydon und Phradmon – sollen eine Kriegerin geschaffen haben (Plin. *nat*. 34, 53):

> venere autem et in certamen laudatissimi, quamquam diversis aetatibus geniti, quoniam fecerant Amazonas, quae cum in templo Dianae Ephesiae dicarentur, placuit eligi probatissimam ipsorum artificum, qui praesentes erant, iudicio, cum apparuit eam esse, quam omnes secundam a sua quisque iudicassent. haec est Polycliti, proxima ab ea Phidiae, tertia Cresilae, quarta Cydonis, quinta Phradmonis.[60]

Berühmtheit erlangte die Wahl des Siegers, die man angeblich den Künstlern selbst überließ, und da jeder sein eigenes Werk als das beste ansah, wurde schließlich jene Statue prämiert, die von allen als zweitbeste angesehen wurde, nämlich die Amazone des Polyklet.[61]

Σίσυρβα, μέρος Ἐφέσου, ἀπὸ Σισύρβης Ἀμαζόνος. τὸ τοπικὸν Σισυρβίτης. „Sisyrba, ein Teil von Ephesos, nach der Amazone Sisyrbe. Der Bewohner heißt Sisyrbites."

[57] Zu den *Homonoia*-Verbindungen von Ephesos siehe Franke – Nollé 1997, 23ff.

[58] Vgl. Strab. 11. 5.4; 12.3.21.

[59] Allgemein zu den Amazonen siehe z.B. Fornasier 2007; Mayor 2016.

[60] Übersetzung: „Es traten aber die gepriesensten Künstler miteinander in Wettstreit, obwohl sie zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten geboren waren, weil sie Amazonendarstellungen geschaffen hatten, und als diese im Tempel der ephesischen Artemis geweiht wurden, beschloss man, dass die trefflichste gewählt werde durch das Urteil jener Künstler, die anwesend waren, wobei sich zeigte, dass es diejenige war, welche alle übereinstimmend als zweitbeste nach der eigenen beurteilt hatten. Es ist dies die Amazone des Polyklet, als nächste von dieser diejenige des Phidias, als dritte die des Kresilas, als vierte die des Kydon und als fünfte die des Phradmon."

[61] Zu den Statuen verwundeter Amazonen, die von der archäologischen Forschung mit dieser Überlieferung in Zusammenhang gebracht werden, siehe umfassend Bol 1998; Fleischer 2002.

Exkurs: Die Geburt der Artemis in Ephesos und die Ursprünge des ephesischen Asyls

Wie der römische Historiker Tacitus in seinem Geschichtswerk *Annales* berichtet,[62] hat Kaiser Tiberius Anfang der 20er-Jahre des 1. Jh. n. Chr. das Asylrecht verschiedener griechischer Städte überprüfen lassen, nachdem es immer häufiger zu Problemen und Missbräuchen gekommen war. So waren etwa an zahlreichen Orten offenbar aus materiellen Gründen willkürlich neue Asyle eingerichtet worden. Übles Gesindel hatte sich anscheinend in den Heiligtümern eingenistet, und immer wieder kam es zu Unruhen. Daher wurde beschlossen, dass die Gemeinden Abordnungen schicken sollten, welche die Rechtsgrundlagen ihrer Asyle offen zu legen hatten. In diesem Zusammenhang kamen auch Vertreter der Stadt Ephesos nach Rom, die in ihren Ausführungen zur Untermauerung der Ansprüche des Artemisions weit ausholten und Beispiele aus der antiken Mythologie anführten, die das hohe Alter und die Bedeutung von Heiligtum und Asylie bestätigen sollten:

> Primi omnium Ephesii adiere, memorantes non, ut vulgus crederet, Dianam atque Apollinem Delo genitos: esse apud se Cenchreum[63] amnem, lucum Ortygiam, ubi Latonam partu gravidam et oleae, quae tum etiam maneat, adnisam edidisse ea numina, deorumque monitu sacratum nemus, atque ipsum illic Apollinem post interfectos Cyclopas Iovis iram vitavisse. mox Liberum patrem,[64] bello victorem, supplicibus Amazonum quae aram insiderant ignovisse. auctam hinc concessu Herculis, cum Lydia poteretur, caerimoniam templo neque Persarum dicione deminutum ius; post Macedonas, dein nos servavisse.[65]

Die Gesandten erwähnten etwa die lokale Sage, dass Leto, die Geliebte des Zeus, ihre Kinder Artemis und Apollon nicht, wie die bekannteste Version dieses Mythos lautet, auf der Insel Delos zur Welt gebracht hätte, sondern in der Nähe von Ephesos. Dort lag nämlich der Hain Ortygia, in dem die beiden Götter geboren worden seien, und dort sei noch zur Regierungszeit des Tiberius ein alter Ölbaum gestanden, auf den sich Leto bei der Geburt gestützt habe. Dieser Mythos findet sich auch in Strabons in augusteisch-tiberischer Zeit verfassten *Geographika*, vermehrt um die Nachricht, dass auf dem dortigen Solmissos-Gebirge die Kureten gestanden seien, die mit ihren Waffen so viel Lärm gemacht haben sollen, dass die eifersüchtige Hera die Geburt der göttlichen Kinder nicht bemerkte.

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[62] Tac., *ann*. 3.60ff.

[63] Die übliche griechische Form ist Κέγχριος bzw. Κεγχρειός.

[64] Aufgrund seiner Verbindung mit dem Wein kann *Liber Pater* mit Dionysos, der in den griechischen Quellen als Verfolger der Amazonen auftritt, gleichgesetzt werden.

[65] Tac., *ann*. 3.61. Übersetzung: „Als erste von allen kamen die Ephesier, die daran erinnerten, dass Artemis und Apollo nicht, wie das Volk glaube, auf Delos geboren worden wären: bei ihnen seien der Fluss Cenchreus und der Hain Ortygia, wo die schwangere Leto an einen Ölbaum, der bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch stehe, gelehnt diese Gottheiten geboren habe, und nach dem Willen der Götter sei der Hain geheiligt worden, und Apollon selbst sei dort nach der Tötung der Kyklopen dem Zorn des Zeus entgangen. Später habe Liber Pater (= Dionysos), der Sieger im Kampf, den demütig bittenden Amazonen, die sich am Altar niedergelassen hatten, verziehen. Vergrößert sei darauf durch das Zugeständnis des Herakles, als er sich Lydiens bemächtigte, dem Tempel die Heiligkeit (scil. das Asylrecht) worden, und auch unter der Botmäßigkeit der Perser sei das Recht nicht vermindert worden; später hätten es die Makedonen, schließlich wir bewahrt."

> ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ παραλίᾳ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Ὀρτυγία, διαπρεπὲς ἄλσος παντοδαπῆς ὕλης, κυπαρίττου δὲ τῆς πλείστης. διαρρεῖ δὲ ὁ Κέγχριος ποταμός, οὗ φασι νίψασθαι τὴν Λητὼ μετὰ τὰς ὠδῖνας. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ μυθεύουσι τὴν λοχείαν καὶ τὴν τροφὸν τὴν Ὀρτυγίαν καὶ τὸ ἄδυτον ἐν ᾧ ἡ λοχεία, καὶ τὴν πλησίον ἐλαίαν, ᾗ πρῶτον ἐπαναπαύσασθαί φασι τὴν θεὸν ἀπολυθεῖσαν τῶν ὠδίνων. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ ἄλσους ὄρος ὁ Σολμισσός, ὅπου στάντας φασὶ τοὺς Κουρῆτας τῷ ψόφῳ τῶν ὅπλων ἐκπλῆξαι τὴν Ἥραν ζηλοτύπως ἐφεδρεύουσαν, καὶ λαθεῖν συμπράξαντας τὴν λοχείαν τῇ Λητοΐ.[66]

In diesem Hain Ortygia habe auch der dort geborene Apollon Schutz gesucht, um dem Zorn seines Vaters Zeus zu entgehen. Diese Nachricht bezieht sich auf folgende Überlieferung: Der Arzt Asklepios, der Sohn des Apollon, wurde, nachdem er einen Menschen vom Tode auferweckt hatte, von Zeus durch einen Blitz erschlagen. Aus Zorn darüber tötete Apollon die Kyklopen, welche die Blitze für den Göttervater Zeus herstellten. Nach dieser Tat flüchtete sich Apollon – den ephesischen Abgesandten bei Tacitus zufolge – in das Asyl des heiligen Hains von Ortygia. Die Fürsprache seiner Mutter Leto hielt schließlich Zeus von einer schlimmeren Rache für dieses Vergehen ab. Apollon musste allerdings als Buße für die Tötung der Kyklopen anschließend als Rinderhirte dem sterblichen Admetos dienen.[67] Diese Geschichte diente genauso wie schon erwähnte Überlieferung von den schutzflehenden Amazonen der Rechtfertigung des ephesischen Asylrechts.

Resümee

Ephesos nimmt in der komplexen Welt der antiken Mythologie einen festen Platz ein, wenngleich sie zumeist eher in weniger weit verbreiteten Traditionen und nicht so populären Überlieferungssträngen zu finden ist. Einerseits wurde versucht, wie in obigem Exkurs gezeigt wurde, die Göttin Artemis, deren Heiligtum eine dominierende Größe im politischen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Leben von Ephesos darstellte, fest mit der Region zu verbinden, indem die Geburt der Göttin und ihres Bruders Apollon von Delos in das ephesische Territorium verlegt wurde. Andererseits galten die Bemühungen der Ephesier dem Ziel, die Rechtmäßigkeit des Asyls im Artemisions zu belegen und in besonders früher Zeit zu verankern. Dies geschah einerseits durch die nur bei Tacitus überlieferte Erzählung von Apollon, der im nahe Ephesos gelegenen Hain von Ortygia, wo er nach lokaler Tradition auch geboren sein soll, Schutz vor dem Zorn seines Vaters Zeus gesucht haben soll, andererseits durch die Geschichte der Amazonen, die auf der Flucht vor Dionysos, Herakles oder Theseus als Schutzflehende an den Altar der Artemis

[66] Strab. 14.1.20. Übersetzung: „An derselben Küste, ein wenig über dem Meer, ist auch Ortygia, ein prächtiger Hain von unterschiedlichsten Bäumen, am meisten von Zypressen. Hindurch fließt der Fluss Kenchrios, wo sich Leto nach der Geburt gewaschen haben soll. Denn hierher werden im Mythos die Geburt verlegt, die Amme Ortygia, das Allerheiligste, in welchem die Entbindung stattfand, und in der Nähe der Ölbaum, an dem die Göttin sich zuerst ausgeruht haben soll, nachdem sie die Geburt überstanden hatte. Oberhalb des Hains liegt der Berg Solmissos, wo die Kureten gestanden seien, die durch Waffenlärm die eifersüchtig lauernde Hera verwirrt und so Leto geholfen haben sollen, die Geburt verborgen zu halten."

[67] Zur Tötung der Kyklopen durch Apollon vgl. auch Diod. 4.71.3; Apollod. 3.10.4; Serv., *Aen*. 6.398. Die Variante der Geschichte, dass Apollon bei Ephesos Schutz vor dem Zorn seines Vaters gesucht habe, ist allerdings nur bei Tacitus überliefert.

gekommen sein sollen. Die Amazonen spielen – wie im Fall anderer westkleinasiatischer Städte[68] – auch eine bedeutende Rolle als Gründerinnen des Artemisheiligtums bzw. der Stadt, deren Name bisweilen auch von einer Amazone abgeleitet wird.[69] In der Regel werden die kriegerischen Frauen sehr positiv gesehen, nur selten treten Amazonen als Eroberinnen oder gar als Zerstörerinnen von Ephesos auf. Es wurde vermutet, dass die Gründung der Stadt durch die Amazonen, die am frühesten (indirekt) bei Pindar belegt ist, die ältere Überlieferung war, die erst in späterer Zeit, wohl im 5. Jh. v. Chr. durch die Geschichte um Androklos abgelöst wurde.[70] Martin Langner vermutet, dass Androklos den Amazonen in dieser Zeit den Rang als Ktistes ablief, da barbarische Fremde nun nicht mehr geeignet waren, als mythische Gründerinnen eines bedeutenden griechischen Heiligtums bzw. einer hellenischen Polis zu fungieren.[71] Statt der Geschichte von den Amazonen als Gründerinnen wurde nun die Tradition der schutzflehenden Amazonen wichtig, die sich in das bereits bestehende Heiligtum flüchteten.

Maßgeblich wurde jetzt die Sage von der Gründung der Stadt durch Androklos. Diese bettet die Ursprünge der Polis in die Überlieferung zur sog. Ionischen Wanderung ein und verknüpft sie mit dem griechischen Mutterland und insbesondere mit Athen. Diese Verbindungen haben durchaus einen historischen Kern und sind auch im archäologischen Befund greifbar. In späterer Zeit blieb die Erinnerung an den legendären Stadtgründer lebendig: Der Heros wurde durch Denkmäler geehrt, in Inschriften wird Ephesos wiederholt als Stadt des Androklos bzw. deren Einwohner als Androkliden bezeichnet, und in der Münzprägung tritt der Ktistes als Stellvertreter der Polis auf.

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[68] Amazonen sind besonders in Kleinasien öfters als Städtegründerinnen belegt. Sie gelten unter anderem auch als Gründerinnen von Kyme, Smyrna, Nikaia, Mytilene, Pitane und Priene.

[69] Der historische Hintergrund für diese Überlieferung könnte in engen Kontakten des Heiligtums mit Reiternomaden wie den Kimmeriern liegen, die im 7. Jh. v. Chr. nach Ephesos kamen. Siehe dazu Fischer 2013, 35ff. Auf Kontakte mit reitenden Steppennomaden deuten auch Funde dieser Zeit aus dem Artemision hin, darunter Kultbasen, an denen Pferdeopfer vollzogen wurden und Pferdegeschirr, das im skythischen Tierstil verziert ist.

[70] So etwa Scherrer 2000.

[71] Langner 2014, 121f.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 69–72
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.004.21394
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

La fondazione di Eraclea Pontica: alcune riflessioni

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Abstract
Foundation of Herlacea in Pontus: Some Observations

The aim is to investigate the mythical foundation of Heraclea, based on the few sources known to us. A complex and articulated picture will be outlined, which, however, will demonstrate how the polis managed to obtain a prominent place in the Greek mythical tradition.

Keywords: Eraclea Pontica, Erodoro, Mileto, Megara.

Apoll. Rh. II 841–850 così racconta: "Il dio vaticinò ai Megaresi e ai Beoti di fondare la città attorno all'olivo sacro che era cresciuto sulla tomba di Idmone; e, infatti, come dice Erodoro, nell'agorà degli Eracleoti c'è la tomba su cui si trova l'olivo selvatico."[1]

Il racconto di Erodoro non è l'unica testimonianza relativa alla fondazione della città di Eraclea e al suo ecista, ma si inserisce in un quadro più complesso e per alcuni aspetti ancora oscuro.[2] Tra i casi più interessanti di racconti di fondazione, Eraclea Pontica è infatti di certo uno di questi. Vediamo perché.

Le fonti attribuiscono a Megaresi e Beoti la nascita della polis, avvenuta quando Ciro prese la Media.[3] A questa tradizione si affianca un'altra che ipotizza una partecipazione dei soli Megaresi o dei soli Beoti all'evento.[4] Giustino, infatti, ricorda che l'oracolo delfico aveva consigliato ai Beoti, afflitti da una pestilenza, di fondare una città sacra ad Eracle nella regione del Mar Nero (Giustino XVI, 3, 4–7). I Beoti, però, timorosi di affrontare

[1] Si confrontino anche Ephor., *FGrHist* 70 FF 44a (Schol. in Ap. Rhod. II 845); 44b (Schol. in Ap. Rhod. II 351 = Euphor., fr. 177).

[2] Sulla storiografia greca frammentaria sul proveniente da Eraclea Pontica si consulti Gallotta 2009, 431–445. Erodoro, Nymphis, Promathidas, Domizio Callistrato, Amphiteos sono gli storici eracleoti da cui si può ricavare e in parte ricostruire il passato mitico e storico della città.

[3] Ps.Skymn, fr. 31 ci fornisce la data della fondazione, tra il 560 e il 550 a.C.; utile per una ricostruzione più articolata e con delle differenze: Pausania, V, 26, 7. 2.

[4] Senofonte, *Anabasi* VI, 2, 1, da cui anche probabilmente Arriano, *Periplo P. Eux*. 18 e Diodoro XIV, 31, 3.

una lunga navigazione, non seguirono il consiglio dell'oracolo, ma poi, sconfitti dai Focidesi in battaglia, consultarono nuovamente l'oracolo che consigliò come rimedio per la guerra ciò che aveva già detto loro per la pestilenza. Radunati i coloni, partirono per il Mar Nero e fondarono la città di Eraclea. In Pausania emerge una differenziazione: i Megaresi fondarono Eraclea, mentre i Beoti si limitarono a partecipare (Pausania, V, 26, 7). Si può ammettere, dunque, che il contingente di coloni più consistente era di origine megarese, mentre i Beoti appaiono come co-fondatori della città. Pausania specifica che l'apporto beotico alla fondazione di Eraclea era costituito dalla città di Tanagra; Tebe, che contribuì con il maggior numero di coloni, diede alla città il compito di organizzare la spedizione coloniale.[5]

Particolarmente interessante, sull'apporto megarese alla fondazione della città, è la riflessione avanzata: tra i studiosi, da Legon, secondo cui tale evento si inserisce in un quadro storico abbastanza complesso relativo alla perdita megarese del porto di Nisea e soprattutto dell'isola di Salamina a favore degli Ateniesi.[6] La perdita dell'isola comportò una serie di problematiche politiche e sociali, che Megara tentò di risolvere accettando l'iniziativa beotica di fondare una colonia nel Ponto. L'oracolo di fondazione della colonia, così come presentato da Apollonio, si rivolge ai Megaresi con l'appellativo 'Nisei': a quei Megaresi a cui da poco è stato restituito il porto di Nisa il Dio ha ordinato di fondare la città di Eraclea.

A questa tradizione dorica si aggiunge anche la voce isolata di Strabone (XII. 3.4), che, invece, attribuisce ai Milesi la fondazione di Eraclea.[7] Non volendo qui entrare in una annosa questione, abbastanza recentemente si è concordi nel ritenere che Strabone si inserisce in una precisa dinamica di appropriazione della colonia megarese da parte di Mileto. Il geografo riporta la notizia di un contatto tra Milesi e Mariandini (che occupavano quella regione) e fa di Eraclea una fondazione milesia, accogliendo quanto la tradizione milesia sugli ecisti delle città, Tizia e Mariandino, miravano a concludere: al tempo degli eroi capostipiti dei Mariandini, i Milesi si erano già insediati ad Eraclea, pertanto essi ne sono i primi fondatori; la fondazione ad opera dei Megaresi e Beoti verrà solo dopo.[8]

Sarebbe, quindi, condivisibile la tesi secondo cui un primo nucleo di coloni provenienti da Mileto raggiunse le coste meridionali del Mar Nero, dove poi sorgerà la polis, prima dei Megaresi e dei Beoti. Va ricordato poi che Eraclea sorge non lontano dalla

[5] Sulle città che avrebbero partecipato insieme con Megara si consultino Asheri 1972, 23–28; Burstein 1976, 15–17; Legon 1981, 80–82. Oltre a Tebe e Tanagra anche altre città sono state chiamate in causa per aver fornito coloni ad Eraclea: Sife, città costiera situata sul golfo di Crisa e nel territorio di Tespie, ha come eroe eponimo Tifi, il timoniere di Argo, morto ad Eraclea; Tespie per gli stretti legami con Sife, suo porto; Panelo, piccola località non identificata situata nei pressi di Eraclea che, secondo la tradizione sarebbe stata fondata da un nobile eracleota originario della Beozia; Delio, località nel territorio di Tanagra. Secondo Burstein (1976), l'iniziativa di fondare Eraclea sarebbe spettata ai Beoti i quali, non riuscendo a radunare un numero adeguato di coloni, chiesero a Megara di assumere la responsabilità della fondazione.

[6] Di questo avviso è Legon 1981.

[7] Relativamente alla partecipazione dei Milesi, va ricordato il lungo e articolato studio della Polito 2010, 70 e ss.; Polito 2011, 65–100. Si consultino Eforo, *FGrHist* 70 FF 44a (Schol. in Ap. Rhod. II 845); 44b (Schol. in Ap. Rhod. II 351 = Euforione, fr. 177) che conserva anche il nome dell'ecista, Gnesioco.

[8] Si confronti anche Desideri 1967, 391 e ss; Desideri 1991, e più recentemente anche Avram 2009, 221 e ss.

ben nota colonia milesia Sinope.[9] Maggiori dubbi invece si hanno nel ritenere la notizia in questione un mero errore di Strabone che avrebbe confuso le notizie su Sinope, attribuendole ad Eraclea, data la vicinanza tra le due città.[10]

Cosa possiamo ricostruire sul suo passato mitico? Un legame imprescindibile tra Eraclea ed Eracle è evidente, non solo dal nome, ma anche dai racconti mitici che legano Eracle all'area dove fu fondata la polis; proprio nei suoi pressi Eracle avrebbe trovato l'accesso che lo condusse dinanzi a Cerbero, il cane a tre teste a guardia degli Inferi.[11] Eracle però nella tradizione non figura come il fondatore di Eraclea. In particolare, nelle *Argonautiche* di Apollonio Rodio si legge dell'indovino Idmone e del pilota Tiphys, due Argonauti che trovarono la morte e la sepoltura nella terra che sarà degli Eracleoti. Apollonio, riportando anche la testimonianza di Erodoro, riferisce che i tumuli erano due e che quello di Idmone era segnalato da un tronco di ulivo, intorno al quale l'oracolo ordinerà di costruire la città, specificando che dovrà essere onorato Idmone come ecista.

Erodoro, quindi, è la fonte principale in merito all'ecista della polis, ma non l'unica.[12] Dell'autore ci sono pervenuti una sessantina di frammenti, che risalgono per lo più ad un' *Eracleide* e ad una *Argonautica*; è probabile che un altro dei suoi scritti avesse per argomento la saga di Pelope. La scelta fu probabilmente dovuta a prima di tutto ad una volontà di affermare la presenza della città nel contesto della tradizione mitologica greca. Erodoro ha anche inteso, con la sua opera, ricostruire la preistoria mitica della sua città col suo territorio, e si colloca perciò necessariamente corne punto di riferimento della grande storiografia eracleota dei decenni e dei secoli che seguiranno. Gli scoli relativi ai versi di Apollonio, oltre a riportare il frammento di Erodoro, aggiungono altre informazioni tratte dallo storico eracleota Promathidas, che è un'altra fonte importante per la ricostruzione mitica della città (Promatida, *FGrHist* 430 F 3 (= Schol. Apoll. Rh. II 844–7a). Secondo Promathidas l'eroe sepolto ad Eraclea fu chiamato Agamestore, perché si ignorava la vera identità di colui che fu designato dal dio come protettore della città. A Promathidas si deve, secondo Desideri, l'iniziativa di aver sostituito all'eroe locale Agamestore l'argonauta Idmone, iciò per collegare le origini della città alla saga argonautica.[13] Anche Nymphis riferisce dell'ecista della polis, dicendo che l'indovino Idmone morì nel territorio eracleota, aggiungendo però un particolare assente in Erodoro: l'uccisione di Idmone ad opera di un cinghiale, annotazione che si ritrova anche in Apollonio.[14]

Chi è Agamestore e che ruolo avrebbe nella storia mitica della città? La risposta non è semplice e diverse sono stata le ipotesi avanzate dagli studiosi. Se Burstein vede in Agamestore una divinità mariandina, invece Jacoby (1912) lo identifica con il capo

[9] In ogni caso, ad Eraclea la sola impronta 'visibile' è quella megarese. Cfr., tra gli altri, recentemente Avram 2009, 221.

[10] La presenza di toponimi ionici indicherebbe semplicemente una frequentazione del territorio da parte di gente di tradizione ionica in un periodo precedente alla fondazione di Eraclea, anche perché infatti, le pubbliche istituzioni note in città erano certamente di tradizione dorica, in particolare megarese.

[11] Nei culti cittadini grande rilevanza di certo ricopriva la figura di Eracle, dato che proprio sull'acropoli sorgeva un tempio a lui dedicato. In aggiunta a ciò va anche ricordato che era abitudine per gli Eracleoti donare ad Olimpia offerte che rappresentevano le gesta dell'eroe. Boardman 1990, 113–114.

[12] Borin 1995, 145 e ss.

[13] Fonte di Trogo è probabilmente lo storico eracleota Nymphis; cfr. Desideri 1967, 391–392; Saprykin 1997, 14.

[14] Iust. XVI 3, 4–7.

eroicizzato dei coloni beoti che presero parte alla fondazione di Eraclea[15]. E Gnesioco? Se Agamestore è l'ecista beotico di Eraclea, Gnesioco sarebbe quello megarese, sostituito poi da Idmone nel momento in cui gli storici locali (in primis Erodoro) volevano celebrare la propria patria inserendola nella grande mitologia greca.

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[15] Agamestore è un eroe di stirpe beotica, inserito all'interno della genealogia beotica in quanto figlio di Laio, re di Tebe.

ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 73–81
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.005.21395
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Notes on Akrisios, the Mythical Founder of Larisa in Thessaly

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Abstract

The tradition attributing the foundation of the Thessalian city of Larissa to Akrisios is very modest and full of contradictions. It seems that in the 5th century BC a version of the myth appeared, according to which Akrisios, king of Argos and grandfather of Perseus, died and was buried in Larisa. This story was probably inspired by the fact that this Thessalian city and the Argive acropolis bore the same name. Knowing this, early mythographers such as Pheredykes and Hellanikos created alternative versions of myths that were originally associated with Argos. New myths enriched the picture of Larisa's past and may thus have been attractive to its citizens. Although they probably established a hero-cult of Akrisios, it was not until the Roman period that he began to be seen as the founder of the city.

Keywords: mythical past, hero-cult, Thessaly, Larisa, Akrisios.

There is a tradition according to which the founder of the Thessalian city of Larisa was Akrisios. This tradition is attested in only two sources. The first is a scholion to Apollonios of Rhodes' *Argonautica*, in which we read:

> 'Polyphemos, Eilatos' son, leaving Larisa, joined them': He (Apollonios) is referring to Larisa in Thessaly, which Akrisios founded. It was named after Larisa, the daughter of Pelasgos, as Hellanikos says. There are three cities called Larisa. The most ancient is the Argive, which is the Acropolis itself. The second is in Pelasgiotis in Thessaly, and Homer calls it Argissa near Gyrtone; this is the city that Apollonios mentions here. There is also a third near Troy, which Homer mentions: 'The tribes of those Pelasgians who (dwell in) Larisa.' (*Schol. Ap. Rhod.* 1.40-1 = Hellanikos BNJ 4 F 91; trans. F. Pownall).

The author of the *scholion* found it necessary to clarify that, in addition to Larisa in Thessaly, there were two other cities bearing the same name, the oldest of which was

the settlement on the acropolis of Argos. The name Larisa was applied to the higher of the two Argive hills, where the temples of Zeus Larisaios and Athena Polias were located.[1] In the *scholion*, we find not only the name of the city's founder but also the information that the Thessalian Larisa was named after the daughter of Pelasgos.[2] In a similar context, Akrisios is mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium. He also enumerates cities named Larisa, counting ten in total. The first he lists is Larisa on the Peneios, which was founded by Akrisios.[3]

In both of the discussed accounts, the name of the *ktistēs* is mentioned to distinguish the Thessalian Larisa from other cities of the same name. However, there is little information regarding who this Akrisios was. It may therefore be assumed that the figure and his connection to Larisa must have been well known, as no further commentary was deemed necessary. Thus, it is highly likely that the founder in question was the well-known Akrisios, king of Argos, father of Danaë, and grandfather of Perseus, mentioned already in the *Iliad* and in the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.[4] According to the version of the myth included in Apollodoros' *Bibliotheke* (1st century AD), Akrisios was the son of Abas, king of Argos. He had a brother, Proitos, with whom he competed until he eventually expelled him and ruled Argos alone. He took as his wife Eurydice, daughter of Lacedaemon, who bore him Danaë. He learned from an oracle that he would perish at the hands of his grandson and, for this reason, sought to prevent his birth. Nevertheless, Danaë, through Zeus, gave birth to Perseus, whom she secretly raised. Upon discovering this, Akrisios confined his daughter and her child in a chest and set them adrift at sea. The waves carried Perseus and his mother to the island of Serifos, where he grew up. Through the intervention of Polydectes, the ruler of the island, Perseus set out to obtain the head of the Gorgon. After many adventures, he decided to return to Argos to meet his grandfather, which ultimately led to Akrisios' death.[5]

Although none of the surviving versions of the myth recount the circumstances under which Akrisios founded Larisa, they do attest to a tradition regarding his death in this city. In Apollodoros' version, Akrisios, fearing an encounter with Perseus, left Argos and went to Pelasgiotis (εἰς τὴν Πελασγιῶτιν). While he was there, Teutamides, king of the Larisaeans, held athletic games in honour of his deceased father, in which Perseus participated. A discus thrown by him accidentally struck Akrisios' foot and killed him on the spot. Perseus buried his grandfather outside the city (ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἔθαψεν).[6] The circumstances of Akrisios' death are also described in the *scholia* to Apollonios of Rhodes. According to this version, when Perseus returned to Argos, he did not find Akrisios there, as he had left for the Pelasgians in Larisa (εἰς τοὺς Πελασγοὺς εἰς Λάρισσαν) out of fear. Perseus also arrived in Larisa, where he recognised his grandfather and persuaded him to return to Argos. Before departing, however, he participated in an *agōn* for young men in Larisa. A discus he threw struck Akrisios' foot, causing an illness that led to his death. Perseus and the Larisaeans buried him outside the city (αὐτὸν κατατίθεται Περσεὺς καὶ οἱ

[1] Paus. 2.24.3.

[2] Paus. 2.24.1.

[3] Steph. Byz., s.v. Larissai (412.18).

[4] Hom., *Il.* 14.319–320; Hes. *Cat.* frgs. 77.8–10; 79. 241.2 (Most).

[5] Apollod., *Bibl.* 2.34–48.

[6] Apollod., *Bibl.* 2.48.

Λαρισσαῖοι πρόσθεν τῆς πόλεως), and the local population erected him a *herōon* (αὐτοῦ ποιοῦσιν ἡρῶιον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι).[7] The briefest account is given by Pausanias, according to whom, upon learning that Perseus was alive, Akrisios withdrew to Larisa on the Peneios (ἐς Λάρισαν… τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Πηνειῷ), where Perseus found him and threw a discus to impress his grandfather.[8]

The versions of the myth presented above differ in details but consistently place Akrisios' death in Thessalian Larisa. Both Apollodoros and the author of the *scholia* to Apollonios drew upon the work of Pherecydes, an Athenian author of the 470s or 460s BC, who wrote the *Historiai*. Pherecydes' work contained extensive genealogies of mythical and historical figures, as well as narratives from across the Greek world. Surviving citations from his work indicate that he sometimes followed Homer, Hesiod, or other authors, while at other times he offered new treatments of myths. His work was regarded by later authors as a handbook of mythology, although it is believed to have survived only in epitomes or excerpts.[9] The aforementioned Apollodoros frequently states that he relied on Pherecydes' work. However, closer analysis has shown that he condensed and modernised the original narrative and sometimes supplemented it with information from other authors, making it difficult to identify the exact sources of his accounts.[10] Other versions of the myth existed, such as that recorded by Hyginus, in which Akrisios perished during games held after Polydectes' death on Serifos and was buried on that island. One might also wonder whether an older version of the myth existed, in which Akrisios, fearing Perseus, sought refuge on the Argive acropolis, which, as we know, was also called Larisa.[11]

Sophocles also placed the location of Akrisios' death in Larisa, although it is unclear whether he was influenced by Pherecydes' work. The poet wrote three plays referencing the myth of Perseus: *Akrisios*, *Danae*, and *Larisaioi*, from which only a few short fragments have survived. It appears that the play *Larisaioi* addressed Akrisios' stay in Larisa, and the circumstances of his death must have been presented in a very similar manner. In one of the surviving fragments (fr. 380), the ill-fated discus throw, crucial to the entire story, is mentioned. In this passage, Perseus complains that, while throwing the discus, he was obstructed by a man standing too close, who hailed from Dotion. The name of this place appears to be a fabrication based on the Dotion pedion, a plain situated in the immediate vicinity of Larisa. In this way, the poet added Thessalian colour to the drama while also providing confirmation of the setting. For our considerations, frg. 378 is particularly significant, as it references the organisation of the games: "and he is causing to be proclaimed a great contest, where all shall be entertained, setting out as prizes brazen cauldrons and vessels overlaid with gold, and cups of solid silver, twice sixty in all" (tr. Lloyd-Jones). Athenaeus, who preserved this quotation, attributes this action to Akrisios.[12]

It may be assumed that by the mid-fifth century BC, Athenians were familiar with the story connecting Akrisios to Thessalian Larisa. The question arises as to when the Thessalians themselves became aware of it. There are reasons to believe that the tale emerged

[7] *Schol. Ap. Rhod.* 4.1091.

[8] Paus. 2.16.2.

[9] Dowden 2011, 61–64; Morison 2011; Fowler 2013, 706–715; Zehner 2024, 199–203.

[10] Kenens 2012, 148–156.

[11] Gantz 1993, 303; Ogden 2008, 106.

[12] Soph. fr. 378 = Ath. 11.466 B; Gantz 1993, 310; Fowler 2013, 256.

before Pherecydes recorded it. This is suggested by the mention of a *herōon*, which the local population was said to have erected in honour of Akrisios. According to Fowler, this represents an example of a local detail woven into a narrative intended for a panhellenic audience, a detail that lent credibility to the presented version of the myth.[13] If this was indeed the case, then Pherecydes, when composing his work, must have learned that the Larisaeans worshipped Akrisios as a hero and pointed to a site in their land as the place of his death. The scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes use the term *herōon*, which is generally considered to refer to a place of cult with a tomb.[14] It is worth noting that there is archaeological evidence suggesting that in the sixth and fifth centuries BC, the inhabitants of Thessaly showed interest in ancient monumental tombs, which they transformed into sites of hero cult, as exemplified by the Late Bronze Age tholos tomb at Georgiko, a probable cult site of the hero Aiatos. During this period, new tombs were also constructed, echoing the funerary architecture of earlier times, in an effort to emphasise the local communities' connection to the past.[15] It is therefore not implausible that one such tomb began to be identified as the burial place of Akrisios, allowing Larisa to be linked to the story of Perseus, one of the most famous Greek myths.

In searching literary sources for information on the mythical traditions to which the Larisaeans referred, we may turn to poems composed at their request. The most significant of these is Pindar's Tenth Olympian Ode, celebrating the victory of Hippocleas of Pelinna in 498 BC. The ode was commissioned by the powerful Aleuadae family of Larisa and was intended for choral performance in Thessaly. It likely incorporated mythological themes that were appealing to the poet's patrons and the audience of the festivities. The poem begins by comparing Thessaly to Sparta and praising the Aleuadae, who are described as descendants of Heracles. Pindar then, to glorify the victory of the boy from Thessalian Pelinna, recounts the deeds of Perseus (*ll*. 27–48). One may wonder why Pindar did not allude to the deeds of a Thessalian hero. Perhaps he chose Perseus because he was considered an ancestor of Heracles and of the Spartan kings.[16] Scholars have also noted Pindar's use of the term Ephyraioi to refer to certain unspecified Thessalian inhabitants. This name seems to reference the mythical city of Ephyra, which was associated with the myth of Thessalos, the eponymous ancestor of the Thessalians, who was also believed to be a descendant of Heracles. Genealogical allusions to the Heraclids may thus have served to connect various mythological themes addressed by Pindar.[17] There is reason to believe that at the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries BC, the Aleuadae of Larisa were keen to fashion their image as descendants of Heracles, which found reflection in Pindar's poetry. During this period, other Thessalian families also sought to enhance their prestige by commissioning works from renowned poets such as Simonides and Bacchylides. In their compositions, both poets engaged creatively with the myth of Perseus.[18] Simonides wrote about Danaë, while Bacchylides addressed the conflict be-

[13] Fowler 2013, 57 and 257.

[14] Larson 1995, 12–13; Ekroth 2007, 108–111; Pavlides 2023, 16–17.

[15] See Intzesiloglou 2002, 289–295; Stamatopoulou 2016, 181–204.

[16] Hdt. 6.53.

[17] Aston 2024, 135–136.

[18] Stamatopoulou 2007, 309–313; 327–328.

tween Akrisios and his brother.[19] Unfortunately, none of the surviving poems by these poets contains any allusion to Akrisios' presence in Thessaly.

Traces of local traditions can also be sought in the imagery depicted on coins minted in Larisa. From the mid-fifth century BC, the head of a woman identified as the nymph Larisa consistently appears on them. Other symbols referencing mythological figures are also present. On coins from the first half of the fifth century BC, the obverse features a male head wearing a *petasos*, while the reverse depicts a sandal. This appears to allude to the myth of Jason, who lost a sandal while crossing a river. Another motif features a young man holding a band with both hands around the forehead of a bull. This figure is often described as the hero Thessalos, though this remains speculative. Similarly, it is difficult to identify the rider wearing a *petasos* depicted on other coins. In the early fourth century BC, a bearded male figure sometimes holding a long staff with a serpent coiling before him appears on Larisan coinage. This figure is identified as Asclepius.[20] However, references to Akrisios, Perseus, and his ill-fated discus throw are absent from Larisan coinage. The nymph Larisa, by contrast, is consistently represented, suggesting that she was the figure most closely associated with the city, likely due to her name. Interestingly, in the third century BC, Perseus holding the head of Medusa appeared on bronze coins of another Thessalian city, Larisa Cremaste.[21]

The figure of the nymph Larisa draws attention to the connections between Thessalian Larisa and the mythical tradition of the city of Argos in the Peloponnese.[22] These connections must have stemmed from the identical name shared by the Thessalian city and the acropolis of Argos. The association with the Pelasgians must also have played a significant role. In Homer, the name *Pelasgikon Argos* is used in reference to Thessaly. Additionally, we know that the region of Thessaly in which Larisa was located was called Pelasgiotis from at least the fifth century BC, and Sophocles referred to the city as the "mother of the Pelasgiots."[23] Naturally, this Pelasgian element became significant once the Pelasgians were associated with Argos. In the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (frg. 160), Pelasgos is mentioned as the first inhabitant of Arcadia, but Akousilaos, writing at the turn of the fifth century BC, made him the brother of Argos and the son of Niobe, the daughter of Phoroneus, in his *Phoronis* (frg. 25). This Pelasgos was said to have given his name to all the Pelasgians residing in the Peloponnese.[24] According to Hellanikos, Pelasgos was the founder of the Argive Larisa.[25] It may also be assumed that the information provided by Pausanias (2.24.1), stating that the city was named after Pelasgos' daughter, derives from this tradition. However, in the previously cited *scholion* to the *Argonautica*, we read that, according to Hellanikos, it was the Thessalian Larisa that was named after Pelasgos' daughter. This discrepancy, if not merely an error on the part of ancient commentators, may have arisen from the fact that Hellanikos referred to

[19] Simon. frgs 543 and 553; Bacch. 11.34–84.

[20] *BMC* VII, 24, no.1–2; pl. IV, 4–5 (sandal); 24–25, no. 6–9; pl. IV, 8–9 (youth); 25, no. 10–11; pl. IV, 10 (horseman); 24, no. 2; pl. IV, 6 (nymph Larisa); 28, no. 45; pl. V, 9 (Asclepius).

[21] Rogers 1932, 321, fig. 161.

[22] See Mili 2016, 193–196; Aston 2024: 148–155.

[23] Hom. *Il.* 2.681; Soph. frg. 379 (Most). For Pelasgiotis see Aston 2024, 148–155.

[24] Fowler 2013, 88; Pownall 2016: commentary on F 52.

[25] Eust. *Il.* 3.75 = Hellanikos BNJ 4 F 36b.

two nymphs of the same name, just as he wrote about two figures named Pelasgos. Writing in the latter half of the fifth century BC, Hellanikos had to contend with an already established tradition concerning the Thessalian Pelasgians. In order to create a coherent historical narrative, he introduced a second Pelasgos, several generations later than the Argive Pelasgos, who, along with his people, migrated from Argos to Thessaly, giving his name to Pelasgiotis.[26]

The interest of mythographers in Larisa may have stemmed from the growing significance of the city and its wealthy elite at the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries BC. This process must have been accompanied by a rising demand for a constructed past for the city, particularly in light of its absence from early myths. Homer (*Il.* 2.738) does not mention Larisa, although he does refer to nearby Argissa, later called Argoussa (*Strabo* 9.5.19). Homer also lists the Pelasgians of Larisa among the allies of the Trojans, but this reference could not have been to the Thessalian city.[27] The absence of Larisa in early mythic traditions posed a challenge for poets, mythographers, and the Larisaeans themselves, who, it seems, appropriated myths and cults from neighbouring settlements.[28] This process is likely reflected in the aforementioned *scholion* to the *Argonautica*, which asserts that Homer called Larisa Argissa. Both the revised versions of myths concerning the Pelasgians and those related to Perseus and Akrisios could have emerged in response to this demand. Perhaps an additional impetus to emphasize the connection with Peloponnesian Argos through the figure of Akrisios may have been the alliance concluded between Athens, Argos and Thessaly in 461 BC, as Aston suggests.[29]

We now return to the *scholion* to Apollonios, whose author explains that "he (Apollonios) is referring to Larisa in Thessaly, which Akrisios founded. It was named after Larisa, the daughter of Pelasgos, as Hellanikos says" (tr. F. Pownall). The claim that Akrisios founded Larisa appears to contradict both the version of the myth preserved by Apollodoros and that recorded in the *scholion* to Apollonios quoted at the beginning of this article, both of which derive from Pherecydes. In both cases, Akrisios arrives at an already existing city of the Pelasgians. The question remains whether Hellanikos could have attributed to him the role of Larisa's founder. Although the author of the *scholion* refers to Hellanikos, it is assumed that only the information regarding the city's name originating from the daughter of Pelasgos can be traced back to him. In his narrative, this was most likely Pelasgos (II), king of the Pelasgians who had settled in Thessaly. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.28), Hellanikos wrote about the presence of the Pelasgians in Thessaly and their kings, from Pelasgos down to Nanas, the son of Teutamides, under whose rule they were expelled from the land by the Hellenes. The parallels between the mythological histories of Argos and Larisa may have led to errors among later commentators. Thus, it was conjectured that Hellanikos had referred to Akrisios as the founder of the Argive Larisa. However, through a mistake, he was attributed with the foundation of the Thessalian city, and this information found

[26] *Schol. Ap. Rhod.* 1.40–41 = Hellanikos BNJ 4 F 91; Fowler 2013, 94–95; Pownall 2016: commentary on F 91.

[27] Hom., *Il.* 2.840–843.

[28] Helly 1987; Mili 2016, 195.

[29] See Mili 1916, 193–196; Aston 2024, 153.

its way into the *scholia* to Apollonios.[30] Accepting this hypothesis would resolve the debate concerning the mythical founder of Larisa, but unfortunately, there is no other source confirming the existence of such a tradition.

Another version of the myth is found in Sophocles, where Akrisios organises games. Since, in the version cited by Apollodoros (2.4.4), these games were held by Teutamides, king of the Larisaeans, it is possible that Sophocles likewise presented Akrisios as the king of Larisa.[31] This would correspond to a recurring motif in many myths, in which an outsider assumes power in a city.[32] In this case, the outsider was a Hellene who became king in a Pelasgian city, marking the beginning of a new era in its history. Furthermore, as the ancestor of Perseus and Heracles, Akrisios would have been an appealing figure for the Aleuadae.

The evidence regarding the *herōon* of Akrisios does not necessarily indicate that he was regarded as the founder of Larisa. Both Apollodoros and the *scholia* to Apollonios mention his tomb as being outside the city, which is not a typical location for a founder's tomb, usually placed in the agora, in the middle of the city, as noted in the *scholia* to Pindar.[33] However, it should be acknowledged that Akrisios did not need to be considered the city's founder to receive heroic cult honours there. In the version of the myth popularised by Pherecydes, the sole explanation for the establishment of his cult is his tragic death. He may therefore be included among the numerous heroes who perished violently far from their homeland. As Sarah I. Johnston has observed, the souls of such individuals could not find peace and thus posed a potential threat to the local community. The establishment of the hero-cult aimed to pacify them and secure their protection.[34] A parallel to the *herōon* of Akrisios may be found in the sanctuary of Cassandra-Alexandra at Amyklai in Laconia, mentioned by Pausanias. Here, too, we encounter a figure from a well-known literary tradition who met a violent death. According to the most common version of the myth, Cassandra was killed by Clytemnestra in Mycenae. The local version of the myth relocates the site of this event from Argolis to Laconia.[35]

It is difficult to determine whether and to what extent the inhabitants of Larisa were devoted to the cult of Akrisios. One thing is certain: he is not mentioned in a late Hellenistic inscription listing *stelai* dedicated to gods and heroes both within the city walls of Larisa and beyond.[36] Interestingly, the tomb of Akrisios is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, followed by several Christian authors who wrote about burials in temples. Citing the ninth book of *Histories* by Antiochos, Clement states that "the tomb of Akrisios is in Athena's temple on the acropolis in Larisa."[37] It is not difficult to see that this claim contradicts Pherecydes, according to whom the tomb was located outside the city. Controversy also surrounds Antiochos himself, who is regarded either as an author of the

[30] Fowler 2013, 94–95, 257; Pownall 2016: commentary on F 91.

[31] Ogden 2008, 15.

[32] See Malkin 2015, 22–24.

[33] *Schol. Pind. Ol.* 1.149; for discussion, see Greco 2021.

[34] Johnston 1999, 153–155; Ekroth 2007, 105–106.

[35] Paus. 3.19.6; Salapata 2002, 140–141.

[36] Helly 1970.

[37] Clem. Al., *Protr.* 3.45.1; Euseb., *Praep. evang*. 2.6; Theodoret, *Graec. Affect. curat.* 8.30; Arnob., *Adver. nat.* 6.6.

first century AD or as a fictitious figure. According to Felix Jacoby, both the author and his work were invented by Ptolemaeus Chennus, whose writings are known from Photius' summary.[38] Regardless of the uncertainties surrounding Antiochos, the information preserved in the *scholia* need not necessarily be false. The *scholia* to Apollonios are thought to contain material drawn from commentaries composed between the first century BC and the second century AD.[39] Perhaps information from the Roman period, when there was a renewed interest in the mythical past of Greek cities, found its way there.[40] The people of Larisa may have 'rediscovered' the tomb of Akrisios, a figure belonging to a widely known mythical narrative. Such a tomb would certainly have become a local attraction, enhancing the city's prestige. It may have been at this time that Akrisios was assigned the role of the city's founder.

Definitive conclusions from the conducted analysis remain elusive. The most plausible scenario is that, as Larisa's significance grew towards the end of the sixth century BCE, there emerged a demand for a more elaborate account of its past and a connection to well-known Greek myths. This interest could have been expressed both by the inhabitants of Larisa and by mythographers seeking to integrate local traditions with widely known mythical stories. The name of the city itself invited connections with Argos in the Peloponnese, whose citadel was also called Larisa. Another key influence must have been the works of mythographers linking Argos with the Pelasgian tradition, which encouraged explanations for names such as Pelasgikon Argos or Pelasgiotis, associated with Thessaly and Larisa. The alternative version of the myth regarding the place of Akrisios' death, one of the figures in the story of Perseus, popularised by mythographers and Sophocles, was accompanied by the establishment of his *herōon* near Larisa. As an ancestor of Heracles, Akrisios may have drawn the attention of the aristocratic Aleuad family, which, at the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries BC, emphasised its affiliation with the Heracleidae. The cult of Akrisios and his *herōon* must have gradually fallen into neglect, as it is not mentioned in the late Hellenistic inventory of the city's places of worship dedicated to gods and heroes. The renewed interest in the city's mythical past in the first and second centuries AD led to the re-identification of Akrisios' tomb, this time on the acropolis of Larisa. It is possible that it was only at this time that Akrisios began to be regarded as its founder.

Abbreviations

BMC VII – *A Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum. Thessaly to Aetolia*. London 1883.

[38] For discussion see Fowler 2013, 718–119; Tell 2013; Jones 2020.

[39] Dickey 2007, 62.

[40] Compare Helly 1987: 127–129, who linked the transfer of Akrisios' tomb to the temple of Athena on the acropolis of Larisa with the process of the formation of the polis.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 83–92
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.006.21396
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Founders and Heroes at Megara and Her "Colonies"*

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Abstract

The article is focusing on the celebration of founders and tutelary heroes at Megara and her colonies from Sicily, Propontis and the Black Sea. These historical and heroic figures are mentioned as *oikistai*, *ktistai*, *archegetai* or *hegemones* by the ancient sources, and they participated to the foundation of Megarian "colonies" (*apoikiai*) or of settlements in the territory of these cities. Some of these heroes give their name to local rivers or appeared on the coins of the cities. The analysis aims to show the ways the Megarian heritage and cultic traditions were used in the *apoikiai* in order to create a new sacred landscape and new civic identities. The founders and several heroes of Megara are also investigated in this study in order to stress changes in the local religious beliefs.

Keywords: Megara, Megarian "colonies," Apollo, Poseidon, Demeter, heroes, *ktistai*, *archegetai*, *oikistai*.

The ancient documents, mainly literary sources, attest several founders and heroes at Megara and her "colonies" (*apoikiai*) from Sicily (Megara Hyblaia, Selinous), Propontis (Astakos, Selymbria, Kalchedon, Byzantion) and the Black Sea (Herakleia Pontike, Mesambria). These historical and heroic figures are described as *oikistai*, *ktistai*, *archegetai* or *hegemones*. Some of these heroes give their name to local rivers and appeared on the coins issued by the cities.

We might note that the Megarian "colonization" offer a good case for the study of historical and mythological founders, since it offers us the possibility to combine the literary testimonia with the archaeological, epigraphical and numismatical sources, over a long period of time, from Archaic until Roman Imperial period. In the first part of my paper, I will present the founders—gods, local heroes, and the emperor Hadrian—celebrated at

* I thank the participants to the conference on the mythological and historical founders in Antiquity organized at Kraków in September 2023 for their comments and remarks.

Megara. Then, I will focus on the "colonial word" in order to discuss the founders and heroes attested in the Megarian *apoikiai*.

Heroic and divine founders of ancient Megara

The cultic and mythological landscape of Megara is marked by the intervention of gods and local heroes during the first times of the city. The royal genealogies reveal that the Megarians developed strong links with Apollo, Poseidon and Demeter; these three deities played a role, directly or indirectly (thought a hero's intervention), in the foundation of the city.

In the 2nd century A.D., Demeter and Apollo are associated with the creation of Megara, a town located on two hills, Karia and the acropolis of Alkathous. According to a local tradition reported by Pausanias, the first Megarian king, Kar, son of Phoroneus, the king of Argos, gave his name to the eastern acropolis and built the first place of worship for Demeter, the *megaron*.[1] This denomination (the plural, *ta megara*) was used to name the city, but it is quite difficult to know the precise functions of the *megaron*, since it was not clearly identified with an archaeological structure and the *megara* is usually considered by the ancient authors as caves or underground chambers related to the festival of Demeter *Thesmophoros*.[2] The cult of *Thesmophoros* is celebrated on the western acropolis, and we might assume that specific rituals connected the two hills.[3] Another sacred place is related to Demeter at Megara, the women accomplish local rituals on a rock called *Anaklethra* ("Recall") and situated near the *prytaneion*. A local myth records that here the goddess called her daughter back after the abduction of Kore by Hades.[4] This tradition competes with the Athenian myth that localise at Eleusis the *Agelastos Petra*, the rock on which Demeter sat when she was calling her daughter.[5]

Demeter is celebrated at Megara as the goddess who brought the agriculture and civilize life,[6] and if Kar was connected with the oriental acropolis, his tomb was located outside the city walls, on the road from Megara to Corinth. Pausanias states that this monument "was originally a mound of earth, but afterwards, at the command of the oracle, it was adorned with mussel stone."[7] This kind of stone is a local limestone, very common in Megara, and the archaeologists founded in this area a circular monument decorated by a Doric frieze. The scholars identified this structure with the tomb of Kar;[8] more recently, it was also considered as trophy monument dating back to the Classical period.[9]

[1] Paus. 1.39.5.

[2] Muller 1980, 83–89; Bremmer 2012, 23–26; Avgerinou 2022, 59–60.

[3] Paus. 1.42.6; cf. Robu 2022, 31–33.

[4] Paus. 1.43.2; *Etymologicon Magnum*, *s.v.* Ἀνακληθρίς (ed. T. Gaisford).

[5] Bremmer 2012, 23–26.

[6] Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 86.

[7] Paus. 1.44.6: Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως μνῆμά ἐστι, τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς χῶμα γῆς, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος ἐκοσμήθε λίθῳ κογχίτῃ (translation W. H. S. Jones, Loeb); cf. Highbarger 1927, 68–69.

[8] Travlos 1988, 259, 278–279, fig. 384–351; Goette 2001, 311; Herda 2016, 77–82.

[9] Stroszeck 2004, 326–328, fig. 17–19.

We might assume that it was the oracle of Delphi who states on the honours that the Megarians have to provide to Kar. It is not the only intervention of this oracle in Megaris, a local hero, Orsippos (Orrhippos in the local dialect) had his grave in the agora and according to an inscription, it was the oracle of Apollo that demanded the erection of this monument. Both Pausanias and the inscription consider Orsippos as the first athlete who won the foot-race at Olympia by running naked; afterwards, this hero defended as "general" (*strategos*) his county in a war against neighbour enemies.[10]

We have no information on the first celebration of the cults of Demeter in the town of Megara, but it seems very probably that these cults respond to the Athenian myths related to Eleusinian cult of Demeter and Kore.[11] By associating Demeter with Kar, the Megarians give ancestry to their own Demetrian cult; and we might assume that the source of this tradition was local mythographers, who in Classical and Hellenistic period were oppose to the Atthidographers on the rights of possession on two very disputed territories by Megarians and Athenians, the island of Salamis and Eleusis.[12]

The Archaic cult of Demeter is probably not those related to Car, but the cult of Demeter *Malophoros* celebrated at Nisaea.[13] It is in fact this goddess that we find in the Megarian "colony" of Selinous,[14] and also at Anchialos, a settlement disputed by Mesambria and Apollonia during the Hellenistic period.[15] We might assume that the cult of *Malophoors* arrived at Anchialos from Mesambria.[16] This *epiklesis* of Demeter is attested only at Megara and her "colonies"; the goddess was celebrated in the autumn, and the month consecrated to her was *Malophorios* (September in the Julian calendar).[17] It is thus certain that the Megarians transferred the cult of *Malophoros* from the metropolis to the "colonies" during the Archaic period.[18]

The name of the city is not explained by the mythographers only in connection with the myth of Demeter and Kar, Pausanias mentions a Boeotian legend that consider Megareus as eponymous hero of the city, the tomb of this hero being located on the acropolis of Alcathous.[19] Megareus succeeded to Nisos, his father-in-law, as king of Megara, he was the son of Poseidon and he was originated from Onchestos, a city which was famous for his sanctuary of Poseidon, a federal sanctuary of the Boeotians.[20] Or, this god seems also to be very important for the Megarians in the Archaic and Classical period. We find no mention of a *temenos* of Poseidon, in Pausanias, yet Thucydides attests that the god had a sanctuary at Nisaea.[21] The trident of Poseidon appears on the bronze coins of Megara from the 4th–3rd centuries B.C., next to the tripod of Apollon and a ship prow.[22] Poseidon

[10] Paus. 1.44.1; *IG* VII 52; cf. Chamoux 2001, 89; Schörner 2007, 60, 121, 260.
[11] Bremmer 2012, 30–31.
[12] Robu 2022, 31–32.
[13] Paus. 1.44.3.
[14] *IGDS* 54, 78.
[15] *IGBulg.* I^2 370 *bis*.
[16] Chiekova 2008, 122–123.
[17] Avram 1999, 29.
[18] Hanell 1934, 174–181.
[19] Paus. 1.39.5–6; 42.1.
[20] Schachter 1986, 206–221; Fossey 1988, 308–312.
[21] Thuc. 4.118.4.
[22] *BCD Pelop.*, p. 23, no. 9.6; 9.7; 11.

is also well attested in the Megarian "colonies" at Selinous, Astakos, Byzantion, Kalchedon and Herakleia Pontike.[23]

The second acropolis is named after Alcathous, another Megarian king closely associated with Apollo, since it was with the help of this god that the hero built the city wall. This tradition goes back to Archaic period, since it is mentioned also by Theognis[24] and Apollo had a central place in the pantheon of Megara and her "colonies."[25] Besides, if Kar was the first to honour Demeter at Megara, Alcathous was the first to sacrifice to the gods called *Prodomeis*, those that have to be honoured before starting to build. Next to the hearth of these deities was a stone on which Apollo laid his lyre the time to help Alcathous.[26] As in other Greek cities, Apollo participated to the construction of the city wall, and indirectly to the establish of the urban space;[27] an inscription from 2nd century B.C. names the god as the *archegetes* ("founder") of Megara.[28]

Much more later, the emperor Hadrian recognize the importance of the Apollo cult in Megara and he decided to rebuild the temple of Apollo *Pythios* in marble, the temple was originally of bricks.[29] Moreover, the emperor broadened the Scironian road, between Megara and Corinth, and thanks to this work, the chariots could pass each other in opposite direction.[30] Several inscriptions attest that Hadrian received at Megara the titles of *ktistes* („builder", „founder"), *euergetes* („benefactor"), *nomothetes* („lawgiver") and *tropheus* („foster-father"). He was called *Pythios* and New *Pythios*, while his wife, Sabine was celebrated as New Demeter. The Megarians create even a new tribe, *Hadrianidai*, in the honour of the emperor.[31]

The title of *ktistes* was differently interpreted by the scholars, since this word can be translated as "builder" or, more generally, as "founder."[32] In the case of Megara, the first translation is supported by the building activity of the emperor, more exactly, the reconstruction of Apollo temple.[33] According to the second interpretation, Hadrian might appear as a new founder of the city.

In my opinion, by using the title of *ktistes*, the Megarians want to underline the close link between the emperor and their main god, Apollo. In Asia Minor, the Ephesians also honour Hadrian as their *ktistes* because the emperor has outdone himself in generosity to their poliadic goddess, Artemis.[34] The Megarians celebrate several cults in the temple of Apollo situated on the acropolis of Alcathous and rebuilt by Hadrian: Apollo *Pythios*,

[23] Robu 2013, 75–76.

[24] Théognis, *vv.* 773–782.

[25] Hanell 1934, 164–174; Antonetti 1999.

[26] Paus. 1.42.1–2; cf. Highbarger 1927, 50–51; Alvino 1980–1981, 7–8; Detienne 1998, 94–96.

[27] Bohringer 1980, 9–10; Detienne 1998, 94.

[28] *SIG*^{3} 653, A, no. 22.

[29] Paus. 1.42.5.

[30] Paus. 1.44.6. See also *IG* VII 69; cf. Birley 2003, 178, 189.

[31] *IG* VII 70 (= *IG* IV^2 2, 1124); 71; 72 (= *IG* IV^2 2, 1125); 73 (= *IG* IV^2 2, 1126). See also *IG* VII 3491, but the word *ktistes* is restituted in this inscription.

[32] Leschhorn 1984, 3–5; Casevitz 1985, 69–70. For *ktistes* used as "builder," see Follet 1992; for the use of the word *ktistes* to designate an act of foundation/refondation, see Pont 2007; Pont 2010, 311–320; Heller 2020, 24–25; Heller 2022, 60–68.

[33] Robu 2007, 173–174.

[34] *IvEph.* II, 274.

Apollo *Archegetes* and Apollo *Dekatephoros*. Or, as New *Pythios* and *ktistes*, Hadrien is assimilated to Apollo *Pythios*, the god who participated to the symbolic foundation of Megara, together with the hero Alcathous. The foundation necessarily implies an act of building, and it is hard to believe that the Megarians ignore the specific meaning of the word *ktistes*, those of "builder."[35] The religious significance of this honour is very important in the case of Megara, and as eponymous hero of the tribe *Hadrianidai*, the emperor is celebrated among the eponymous heroes of the other three *phylai* of the city, *Hylleis*, *Dymanes* and *Pamphyloi.*[36]

It is certain that this title has also a political meaning and the granting of honours to Hadrian was probably matter of competition between cities. We know that the animosities between Megara and Athena were quite important during the 2nd century AD. According to Philistratos, the Megarians did not admit Athenians to their Lesser Pythian games, and the dispute between the two neighbouring cities was settled by Markos from Byzantion, a sophist who was also sent by his native city as ambassador to Hadrian. Markos included Byzas, the mythical founder of Byzantion, among his ancestors, and this mythical genealogy show us the popularity of foundation myths among the civic elites of the Roman empire.[37]

It is obviously that the Megarians deliberately choose during the Roman Imperial period to associate the birth of their city with two main deities, Apollo and Demeter. The question is if this choice is formulated in the Roman or Hellenistic time, or is much more ancient, if it goes back to the Classical of Archaic period. It is hard to answer to this question, since we have few sources on the Megarian pantheon before the Hellenistic period. Nevertheless, it is certain that the role of Poseidon at Megara is neglected by the local mythographers in the times of Hadrian.

It is very likely that the couples Apollo-Alcathoos and Megareus-Poseidon illustrate two political and religious centers of Megara in Archaic and Classical periods: the town with the two *acropoleis* (and the main sanctuary of Apollo *Pythios*); the port of Nisaia with the sanctuary of Poseidon. Megareus, son of Poseidon, was the eponymous founder, while Alcathoos was the founder of the urban space.[38] It is not a coincidence that in the local royal genealogies Alcathoos directly succeeded Megareus, his father-in-law.[39] Through the action of these two heroes, Apollo and Poseidon played a role in the creation of the city of Megara, as in the case at Troya and at Byzantion, a Megarian colony, where the construction of the walls was also attributed to these two gods.[40] The slowly decline of Nisaia and probably also of nearby sanctuary of Poseidon in the 2nd–1st centuries BC—a difficult period for the city—produced a reconfiguration of the local pantheon in the context of cultic and politics rivalries between Athens and Megara. Apollo appears as the only divine founder and Alcathoos is presented as the heroic founder, while the role of Poseidon is obliterated by the local traditions.[41]

[35] Casevitz 1985, 69–70.

[36] Camia 2011, 74–75.

[37] Philostratos, *vit. Soph*., 1.24.528–529.

[38] Robu 2013, 71–73.

[39] Paus. 1.41.3.

[40] Homer, *Il.*, 21.435–457 (Troya); Hesychios, *FGrHist* 390 F 12 (Byzantion).

[41] Robu 2013.

This example shows us that the Ancient Greeks can honour different divine or heroic founders over time, and it is obviously that the pantheon of Roman Megara is not entirely the same as the pantheon of Archaic or Classical Megara. This is an important point for understanding the place of the founders in the Megarian "colonies," which is the second part of my article.

Oikistai ("founders") and *hegemones* ("chiefs") in the Megarian "colonies"

The ancient authors attest several historical and mythological founders for the Megarian settlements. We can include in the first category, of historical founders, several *oikistai* ("founders") or *hegemones* ("chiefs"): Lamis, the leader of the Megarians who moved to Sicily during the second part of the 8th c. B.C.;[42] Pammilos in charge with the foundation of Selinous;[43] and Gnesiochos the Megarian founder of Herakleia Pontike.[44]

For the second category, of mythological or eponymous heroes, we may mention: Astakos, the eponymous founder of the city of Astakos;[45] Kalchas, the seer in Iliad, or Kalchedon, son of Kronos, both mentioned by different sources as founders of Kalchedon;[46] Selys, the founder of Selymbria;[47] Byzas, the founder of Byzantion;[48] Melsas, the founder of Mesambria;[49] Herakles, the *eponymous* hero and *ktistes* of Herakleia Pontike.[50] In this last city, the ancient sources mention also the cult of Idmon/Agamestor celebrated by the colonists in accordance with a Delphic oracle. This hero had the role of guardian of the city, his tomb being located in the agora.[51]

The foundation of Selinous is good example of collaboration between Megara and her "colonies," since this city was founded by the Megarians from Sicily and Greece.[52] Another case is Mesambria, established by the Kalchedonians and the Megarians.[53] For these cities, we may assume that the founder or *oikistes* came from Megara, as as it was probably demanded by an old Greek custom. In this respect, Thucydides states that in the case of the foundation of Epidamnos by the Korkyrians the "founder" (*oikistes*) came from Korinthos, according to an old custom.[54] As in the case of Epidamnos, the founder of Selinous, Pammilos came from the metropolis of Megara Hyblaia, the city of Megara

[42] Thuc. 6.4.1.

[43] Thuc. 6.4.2.

[44] Euphorion, fr. 177 (ed. J. U. Powel).

[45] Arrian, *FGrHist* 156 F 26; Memnon, *FGrHist* 434 F 12.

[46] Hesychios, *FGrHist* 390 F 21 (Kalchas); Arrian, *FGrHist* 156 F 78 (Kalchedon).

[47] Strabo 7.6.1 (C 319); Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Σηλυμβρία.

[48] Hesychios, *FGrHist* 390 F 5.

[49] *IGBulg.* I² 345; cf. Strabo 7.6.1 (C 319); Nic. Dam., *FGrHist* 90 F 43.

[50] Justin 16.3.4–8. Herakles appears with the title of *ktistes* on the coins issued by Herakleia Pontike during the Roman Imperial period: Waddington – Babelon – Reinach 1908, 356, no. 69–70; 357, no. 74.

[51] Apollonios of Rhodes 2.846–850; Promathidas of Herakleia, *FGrHist* 430 F 3; cf. Malkin 1987, 75–76.

[52] Thuc. 6.4.1–2.

[53] Ps.-Scymnos, 738–742.

[54] Thuc. 1.24.2.

Nisaia. The archaeologists found a *heroon*, composed of two tombs, on the edge of the agora of Selinous; the traces of cultic activity and the location of the monument indicate a heroic cult, maybe for the founder or the founders of the city.[55] We might also note that the eponymous hero of the city is Selinous, a river-god whose name is built on the Greek word *selinon* ("celery"), and this plant is often represented on the local coins.[56]

In the 8th c. B.C., Lamis, the first Megarian attested as a chief of an *apoikia*, died at Thapsos and never accomplished his mission. Irad Malkin suggested that the place of Lamis was taken by Hyblon, the Sikel king, who gave the Megarians the land in Sicily in order to establish their city. This scholar considers Hyblon as a real *oikistes* and this might explain why in some sources Megara is called Hyblaia.[57] It we accept this thesis, we might infer that Megara Hyblaia was named after a non-Greek founder. This was also the case of Selymbria, Byzantion and Mesambria, since the names of these cities are explained by ancient sources as being derived from the names of Thracian chiefs (Selys, Byzas, Melsas). The main question is why Megarian chose to give non-Greek names to their foundations? Is it, for instance, in order to establish a political alliance with the non-Greeks?

In reality, the choice of a *ktistes* or of an eponymous founder illustrates the capacity if innovation of the Ancient Greeks. The non-Greek element offered to the newcomers the possibility to integrate the local mythological and religious environment; in this way, the local mythology and topography became the source for new religious traditions and rituals in the "colonies."[58] We can mention as en exempla the sanctuary devoted to the Hero *Archagetas* situated on the European coast of Propontis, at Kadiköy, ca. 8 km northwest from Selymbria. This local hero was celebrated during the Roman Imperial period, and the reliefs depict him as a "Hero Rider," a very popular cult in Thrace. The hero presents thus regional patterns, his name retains nevertheless a Dorian form (ἀρχαγέτας) at a period when the Doric dialect is not more in use in Selymbria.[59]

Moreover, the "colonies" were often ethnically heterogenous and other Greeks joined the Megarian *apoikoi* during the Archaic period. This was certainly the case of Byzantion and Herakleia Pontike, Dionysius of Byzantion mentions for instance the *hegemones* ("chiefs") of the first Greeks who arrived on the European shore of the Thracian Bosporus.[60] Or choosing a non-Greek, a mythological founder or a river-god, instead of an historical figure, can be a compromise solution, hat might contribute to assure the social and political stability of the new community.

The act of colonization is often the result of negotiations between cities and also between different chiefs of *apoikoi*, and not the decision of adventures, as it was sometimes argued.[61] The story of Dorieus recorded by Herodotus (5.42–48) shows that even in the case of colonization initiated by an aristocrat that might be seen an adventurer, there is

[55] Mertens 2010, 80–84; Mertens *et al.* 2012, 58–64, 153–165.

[56] Weiss 1984, 24–49, 55–56; Curbera 1998.

[57] Malkin 1985, 117–118; Malkin 2002, 220–222; cf. Robu 2014, 121–122.

[58] Robu 2018, 275–280.

[59] *I.Byzantion*, S 7–16; cf. Robert 1949, 47–49; Oppermann 2006, 252, 279–280.

[60] Dionysius of Byzantion, 53, p. 22–23 (ed. R. Güngerich); cf. Robu 2014, 250–256, 293–306.

[61] See Osborne 1998, who denies the specificities of the Greek "colonization" phenomenon; *contra* Greco 2011.

always several chiefs and groups involved in the colonization. Herodotus qualifies the Dorieus companions as συγκτίσται.[62] The oracle of Delphi has to be consulted, and the founders had to choose the calendars, magistracies and customs for the new settlement. And there is no certain that the memory of the *oikistes* may survey after his death, Dorieus never accomplished his mission, and he never receive cultic honours; at the end, it was one of his companions, Philippos of Kroton, son of Boutakides, who was celebrated as hero at Segesta.[63]

Otherwise, the fact that we have no confirmation of a cult of historical founder in the Megarian *apoikiai* might be due to the scarcity of documents, but this can also indicate that the chief of the main group of colonists was not always choose as the official "founder" (*oikistes*). This historical founder participates to the establishment of the city and the division of the land, but we have to keep in mind that it is not the only "chief" (*hegemon*) of the *apoikoi*, and that family groups that founded the colony had also their own "chiefs" (*hegemones*). In this respect, the study of the Megarian foundations reveals a variety of cases and a degree of diversity among the cities. In the mainland Greece and in the colonial world, the Megarians choose gods, heroes or real persons as founders. The choice was not definitive, and a founder might change over time, as it is shown by the couples Megareus-Poseidon and Alkathous-Apollo in Megara. In Sicily during the Archaic period, Thoukles, the chief of the Chalkidians, founded several settlements (Naxos, Leontinoi, Katane), but the Katanians decided to choose Euarchos as *oikistes*.[64]

Finally, it is important to stress that the Megarians *apoikoi* designate not only Greeks, but also Thracians as mythological founders for their "colonies." According to local traditions, Byzantion, Selymbria and Mesambria were founded by Thracian heroes, Byzas, Selys, and Melsas. These traditions offer us another example for the Greeks desire to interconnect with the local mythological landscape, and a non-Greek founder was also a solution to avoid conflicts between the members of the the new community, which was originally culturally heterogenous. In this respect, the choice of the founders and cults seem to be inspired both by the traditions of the metropolis and the new colonial environment.

[62] Hdt. 5.46; cf. Casevitz 1985, 70.

[63] Hdt. 5.47.

[64] Thuc. 6.3.

Abbreviations

BCD Pelop. – *Coins of Peloponnesos. The BCD Collection. Auction LHS 96*, Zurich 2006.
I.Byzantion – A. Łajtar (éd.), *Die Inschriften von Byzantion, I. Die Inschriften*, Bonn 2000.
IvEph. – C. Börker, R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 2, Bonn 1979.
IGBulg. – G. Mihailov (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, vol. I^2, Sofia 1970.
IGDS – L. Dubois (ed.), *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile. Contribution à l'étude du vocabulaire colonial*, Rome 1989.
SIG^3 – W. Dittenberger (ed.), *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*^{3}, Leipzig 1915–1924.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 93–105
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.007.21397
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Da Zankle a Messene: le *ktiseis* tra mito e storia

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Abstract
From Zankle to Messene: The *ktiseis* between Myth and History

The contribution aims to analyze the various traditions, mythographic and historiographic, relating to the foundations of Zankle, a *polis* that, among the Greek *apoikiai* of Sicily, stands out for its originality and atypicality. The tradition, in fact, elaborated over the centuries, in addition to testifying to the intense vitality that characterized the area since ancient times, also offered the poets interesting ideas for mythopoeic elaboration by setting events of monstrous beings and heroic figures reflecting the essence of those places.

Keywords: Zankle, apoikia, Sicily, mythography.

Tra le *apoikiai* greche di Occidente, Zankle è una di quelle che si distingue per la sua variegata e, a tratti, originale tradizione. Elaborato nei secoli, tale patrimonio diviene per noi la testimonianza dell'intensa vitalità che aveva caratterizzato quell'area già a partire da un tempo talmente remoto che già in antico ne era impossibile ricostruire i contorni. I pochi frustuli di memoria tramandati attraverso il tempo avevano, comunque, fornito ai poeti interessanti e suggestivi spunti per una elaborazione mitopoietica di quelle narrazioni. In altre parole, la storia più antica dello stanziamento, con la perdita di ancoraggi cronologici certi, ispirandosi, probabilmente, alla unicità dei luoghi e dei fenomeni naturali che proprio in quello stretto braccio di mare tra Sicilia e Italìa si manifestano,[1] era stata rielaborata e nobilitata attraverso l'ambientazione di vicende mitiche i cui protagonisti erano esseri mostruosi al pari di figure eroiche.

L'antichità dell'insediamento, accreditato dalla tradizione letteraria e trasfigurato attraverso narrazioni mitologiche, appare confermata dalla ricerca archeologica i cui

[1] Tra i fenomeni naturali che si manifestano nell'aera dello Stretto in modo più frequente ricordiamo la Fata Morgana, la lupa e i famosi imponenti gorghi d'acqua generati dall'incontro del mare Ionio con il Tirreno.

risultati consentono di inserire lo Stretto di Messina, almeno a partire dal V millennio a.C., all'interno di un "sistema mediterraneo" in cui esso svolse il ruolo non di diaframma, ma di *poros*, ossia liquida via di comunicazione tra le due sponde.[2] Numerosi ritrovamenti in diverse zone attestano l'esistenza di intensi rapporti con l'area egea e con l'area orientale già a partire dall'Eneolitico: ricordiamo, ad esempio, un vasetto in calcite di provenienza anatolica e, ancora, idoletti litici, ritrovati in contrada Camaro, databili all'eneolitico medio;[3] due *pithoi* per sepolture ad *enchytrismos* databili all'età del Bronzo (fase Thapsos-Milazzese) provenienti dal litorale Paradiso.[4] Tale ruolo prosegue, forse in modo più incisivo, durante l'età micenea e i contatti con l'area egea sembrano, in particolare, essere ulteriormente confermati dal ritrovamento di una monumentale tomba a *tholos*[5] nella parte sud dell'abitato moderno, nel quartiere Gazzi. Una continuità di vita, leggibile stratigraficamente dall'età neolitica media fino a quella del Bronzo, è inoltre chiaramente testimoniata dagli scavi di Viale Boccetta, nel sito cosiddetto del Palazzo della Cultura. In altre parole, i dati archeologici sembrano confermare, senza alcun dubbio, che lo Stretto era divenuto un importante crocevia di popoli e rilevante *medium* tra cultura orientale e cultura occidentale.

Tralasciando ora le testimonianze archeologiche per le quali si rinvia alla bibliografia specifica, sul versante letterario spicca Tucidide che, accingendosi a narrare la grande spedizione inviata da Atene contro Siracusa nel 416/5 a.C.,[6] inseriva, in quel famoso e drammatico sesto libro, cinque densi capitoli in cui esponeva la storia più antica dell'isola, passando in rassegna la successione dei popoli più antichi che avevano abitato la Sicilia, anteriormente e parallelamente all'abbondante e intenso arrivo di *apoikoi* greci, senza tralasciare interessanti riflessioni sull'onomastica isolana. Ed è così che lo storico ateniese ha realizzato un prezioso affresco sulle fondazioni delle *poleis* greche sorte sulle coste dell'isola e sui loro duraturi e, nella maggior parte dei casi, fortunati stanziamenti dei quali ricordava ecisti e metropoli. Come è noto, a questo *excursus* sulle *apoikiai* siceliote Tucidide premetteva, in apertura, riferimenti anche a popolazioni mitiche[7] che avrebbero abitato l'isola in un tempo indefinito, prendendo spunto e attingendo a quanto narrato dai poeti, sebbene nei loro confronti nutrisse grande diffidenza per la diversa finalità dell'opera poetica – ovvero il diletto –, di contro alla finalità dell'opera storica – mirata invece all'ἀλήθεια. Sicuramente, tra le fonti poetiche cui fa riferimento Tucidide si impone l'*epos*: come è noto, infatti, nei canti IX e X dell'*Odissea*, la fantasia poetica dell'Autore aveva collocato Ciclopi e Lestrigoni in un'isola occidentale dove era stata altresì localizzata la sfida di Odisseo, minacciato su opposte coste da Scilla e Cariddi mentre nell'arcipelago eoliano si era collocata la sede del signore dei venti Eolo.[8] Ma tralasciando la *vexata quaestio* relativa alla geografia omerica – ora interpretata come vitale

[2] Vedi, in particolare, Santagati 2018. Vedi inoltre Bernabò Brea 1987 e 1999. Sulla storia della ricerca archeologica a Messina vedi la voce curata da Scibona 1992 e Bacci – Tigano 2001 e 2002.

[3] Bacci 1997.

[4] Scibona 1971. Per ulteriori ritrovamenti ascrivibili alla medesima età, vedi Martinelli 1999.

[5] Tigano 2012.

[6] Sulla spedizione in Sicilia vedi Cataldi 1992 e, da ultimo, Intrieri 2020 con bibliografia precedente.

[7] Su ciò, vedi Santagati 2012 con bibliografia precedente.

[8] *Od*., 10.1–79. Su Eolo, vedi anche Diod. 4.67.6; 5.7.5–7. Cfr. Braccesi 1993, 23 ss.; Sammartano 1996; Santagati 2014.

riflesso delle navigazioni micenee, ora come eco o commento dell'epopea della colonizzazione mediterranea – è certo che Esiodo localizzava le peregrinazioni di Odisseo κατὰ Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν[9] e menzionava capo Peloro, oltre che l'Etna, l'isola di Ortigia e il popolo nato da Lestrigone, figlio di Poseidon.[10]

In questo orizzonte mitico, come abbiamo avuto già modo di sottolineare, la bellezza e la straordinarietà dei luoghi aveva ispirato la fantasia mitopoieica di scrittori che, accanto al mito di Scilla e Cariddi, avevano elaborato, o semplicemente cristallizzato attraverso la scrittura, altri affascinanti racconti, espressione e patrimonio di una lunga ed antica tradizione orale.[11] Si tratta, come vedremo, di tradizioni che si erano affastellate nei secoli, probabilmente frutto di elaborazioni condizionate dalle esperienze storiche e dai contatti che nel tempo la città aveva annodato.

Partendo dall'orizzonte mitico, dobbiamo ricordare quanto narrava Diodoro il quale, nel IV libro della sua Βιβλιοθήκη, dedicava un lungo passaggio a Zankle il cui nome risulta qui legato al re siculo Zanklo. Secondo questa tradizione tramandata dall'Agirense, il re eponimo avrebbe chiamato a sé Orione con l'incarico di costruire l'Aktè e il Peloro: (Orione) κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν Σικελίαν κατασκευάσαι Ζάγκλῳ τῷ τότε βασιλεύοντι τῆς τότε μὲν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ζάγκλης, νῦν δὲ Μεσσήνης ὀνομαζομένης, ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν λιμένα προσχώσαντα τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἀκτὴν ποιῆσαι.[12]

Ad Orione,[13] eroe dalla forza eccezionale, è attribuita, pertanto, dietro iniziativa del siculo Zanclo, la costruzione di quell'area che sarebbe divenuta il cuore pulsante della futura *polis* greca nonché la principale fonte di grandi guadagni per i suoi *politai* grazie alle attività commerciali e alla connaturata funzione di riparo per le navi. Secondo la tradizione, l'eroe avrebbe organizzato 'fisicamente' i detriti ammassati su quel tratto di costa per strutturare la "falce" del Porto e l'area del Peloro declinando, attraverso la realizzazione di queste opere, la sua funzione 'civilizzatrice', evidenziata, peraltro, attraverso l'uso del verbo κατασκευάζω (costruire) e προσχώννυμι (depositare, organizzare). L'intervento del greco Orione, dietro invito del siculo Zanklo, celerebbe, inoltre, il complesso rapporto tra elemento greco ed elemento anellenico, la cui chiave di lettura sta nell'attribuzione al Greco del ruolo positivo di eroe civilizzatore.[14] Diodoro completa questo cammeo su Zankle riferendo quanto narra Esiodo[15] che, oltre a testimoniare

[9] Erat. fr. 1B, 3 Berger ap. Strab. 1.2.14.

[10] Fr. 149 M.-W. Vedi Santagati 2018.

[11] Sul rapporto tra tradizione e memoria, vedi Giangiulio 2010; Giangiulio 2012.

[12] Diod. 4.85.1: (Orione) *in Sicilia, ad esempio, su incarico di Zanclo, che allora* regnava *sulla città che da lui prese il nome di Zancle (è l'attuale Messene), portò a termine altre opere e costruì il porto creando quell'argine che è conosciuto col nome di Actè*. Il mito di Orione, oggetto di grande fortuna nella tradizione mitografica, è già presente in *Il.*18.486 *e Od*. 11.309–310 e 572–575. Sul IV libro di Diodoro e le fonti da lui utilizzate vedi Mariotta – Magnelli 2012.

[13] Su Orione vd., tra gli altri, Ferretto 1982; Vidal-Naquet 1988; Prestianni Giallombardo 2002; Debiasi 2010a e 2010b. Sulla fonte utilizzata da Diodoro in questo capitolo, vedi Debiasi 2010b, 10 con discussione in nota e bibliografia precedente.

[14] Lo stesso ruolo che, nelle pagine diodoree, assume ancora Dedalo, il *technites* per antonomasia, e il re sicano Cocalo o la comunità ericina: Diod. 4.76–83.

[15] Diod. 4.85.5 = Hesiod. *Astr*. fr. 8 Diels-Kranz. In particolare, il riferimento di Esiodo lascerebbe supporre che proprio a lui si debba la diffusione della leggenda che collega il mito della evirazione di Urano con una falce da parte di Crono. Gli Euboici calcidesi insediatisi nello Stretto, suggestionati dalla conformazione del porto a forma di falce, identificarono proprio in questo sito l'occultamento dell'empia falce; altri Eubei,

l'organizzazione del Peloro, attribuisce ad Orione anche la realizzazione di un tempio a Poseidon.[16] La costruzione di un tempio, come è noto, prevedeva la perimetrazione del τέμενος (area sacra) all'interno del quale edificare la struttura sacra, gesto che simbolicamente era parte di quelle azioni condotte in via preliminare alla fondazione di un'ἀποικία. Ora, sebbene il mito di Orione non sia di tipo fondativo dato che Zankle era già una realtà insediativa come dimostrato anche dalla ricerca archeologica, esso potrebbe essere il riflesso, in una elaborazione in chiave mitica, dell'occupazione euboica del territorio in età precoloniale ed espressione della forte influenza sul piano culturale e cultuale degli Euboici sull'elemento siculo già stanziato in quell'area, lasciando intravedere, tra le due componenti, rapporti collaborativi e non conflittuali. In questa direzione, guiderebbe proprio il riferimento all'introduzione in Zankle del culto di Poseidon da parte di Orione, il cui scopo non era quello di soppiantare il culto indigeno dedicato alla ninfa Pelorias, bensì quello di completare il panorama cultuale del luogo che, con l'arrivo degli Euboici, doveva contemplare, accanto alla ninfa indigena, anche un dio greco, caro in particolare agli Euboici che, al pari di Orione, avevano dedicato alla divinità un santuario extraurbano presso Geresto, su un promontorio a sud dell'Eubea. Non va neppure trascurato che la divinità era già parte del patrimonio mitologico isolano: tra i primi abitanti della Sicilia, Tucidide, infatti, menzionava i Lestrigoni, figli proprio di Poseidon. Dai dati sin qui esposti, credo che si possa affermare che ci troviamo di fronte ad una tradizione che tradisce una chiara matrice euboica in quanto, sebbene Orione fosse nativo della Beozia,[17] l'eroe, dopo l'impresa compiuta nell'area dello Stretto, si sarebbe ritirato in Eubea,[18] entrando per questo a fare parte del patrimonio euboico e divenendone anche simbolo. In altre parole, con il mito di Orione, ci troveremmo di fronte a tradizioni beotico-euboiche, elaborate in età arcaica quale risultato degli intensi rapporti tra le due regioni, non solo di natura commerciale ma anche culturale e cultuale, come dimostrerebbe la partecipazione di Esiodo a Calcide ai ludi funebri in memoria di Anfidamante.[19] Per chiudere questo cerchio, dobbiamo ancora notare come la tradizione epica restituisca una sorta di connessione 'semantica' tra l'eroe euboico-beota e la Ninfa Zanklea: uno degli appellativi attribuiti ad Orione all'interno dell'*epos* era proprio πέλωρ,[20] *l'immenso*, caratteristica fisica ribadita dallo stesso Diodoro. Egli, a tal proposito, infatti, scriveva: λέγεται γὰρ τοῦτον σώματος μεγέθει καὶ ῥώμῃ πολὺ τῶν μνημονευομένων ἡρώων ὑπεράγοντα φιλοκύνηγον

gli Eretriesi avevano invece identificato il nascondiglio in Drepane/Scheria/Corcira (così Timeo che citava Alceo e Acusilao: Alcaeus fr. 188 Page; Acusil. *FGrHist* 2 F 4 ap. Schol Apoll. Rhod. 4,992; Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F 79). Una prova a supporto del ruolo da protagonisti assunto dagli Eubei nella diffusione di miti e di vicende eroiche nei siti da loro raggiunti proviene dalla ambientazione del mito dell'eroe tebano Orione sulla riva dello Stretto. Di contro, il richiamo alla falce cronia sepolta a Zankle in una buca al verso 71 del frammento degli *Aitia* di Callimaco, ha suggerito ad alcuni studiosi che si tratta di una elaborazione recenziore, frutto della fantasia del poeta ellenistico.

[16] Sul tempio e sulla sua probabile collocazione, vedi, in particolare, l'analisi in Panessa 1985. Non ritiene che dovesse trattarsi di un tempio ma di un'area sacra: Prestianni Giallombardo 2002.

[17] Corinna, fr. 654, col. 39 PMG; fr. 655 coll. 114–116; fr. 662. Vedi inoltre Strabo. 9.2.12; Paus. 9.20.3: ἔστι δ᾽ Ὡρίωνος μνῆμα ἐν Τανάγρᾳ. Vedi Wehrli 1939, 1065–1082; Gantz 1993, 271–273.

[18] Sulla tradizione che lega Orione all'Eubea, vedi, in particolare, analisi in Debiasi 2010b. Nei fatti, dobbiamo ricordare che Orione risulta particolarmente legato a Iria e Tanagra, centri beoti prospicienti l'Eubea.

[19] Su questo aspetto vedi l'analisi in Debiasi 2010a con bibliografia precedente.

[20] *Od*. 11.572–574: τὸν δὲ μετ᾽ Ὡρίωνα πελώριον εἰσενόησα / θῆρας ὁμοῦ εἰλεῦντα κατ᾽ ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα (*dopo di lui scorsi Orione, immenso, cacciare sul prato asfodelio in torma le fiere*).

γενέσθαι καὶ κατασκευάσαι μεγάλα ἔργα διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ φιλοδοξίαν.[21] Si tratta di una *vox media* dalla cui radice deriva il nome della Ninfa Πελωριάς e il toponimo Πελωρὶς e il cui significato oscilla tra il *prodigioso* e il *mostruoso*.[22] Accanto a ciò, appare altresì probabile che si debba attribuire ai Calcidesi insediatisi nello Stretto,[23] suggestionati dalla conformazione del porto a forma di falce, l'elaborazione della tradizione che individua nell'area falcata il luogo in cui Crono avrebbe nascosto la falce dopo avere evirato il padre Urano. Ciò appare in linea con il ruolo attivo assunto dagli Eubei nella diffusione di miti e leggende di origine prettamente greca nei luoghi in cui si stanziarono: gli Eubei di Eretria, ad esempio, avevano piuttosto identificato il nascondiglio della falce in Drepane/Scheria/Corcira.[24]

Proseguendo la nostra indagine con l'attenzione rivolta alla tradizione storiografica, dobbiamo premettere che, secondo Eforo, le prime *apoikiai* greche in Sicilia sarebbero state fondate nella decima generazione dopo la guerra di Troia,[25] ossia tra la fine del IX secolo a.C. e i primi dell'VIII secolo a.C.[26] Tucidide, dal canto suo, fornisce, come è noto, una cronologia più bassa che proietta la prima fondazione greca in Sicilia, ossia Naxos, al 734 a.C., per proseguire con Siracusa, la cui fondazione è datata al 733 a.C., con Lentini e Catane al 728 a.C., Gela al 688 a.C. e così via. Per tutte le *ktiseis* greche di Sicilia elencate nell'*excursus,* Tucidide propone un ancoraggio cronologico – seppure relativo e non assoluto – alla fondazione di Siracusa, il che consente di definire la data di fondazione delle singole *poleis.* Da questo schema rimane esclusa Zankle, della quale non fornisce alcun riferimento cronologico, né assoluto, né diacronico, né sincronico. Nonostante ciò, grazie ad una serie di indizi presenti nelle fonti, gli studiosi sono pressoché unanimemente concordi nel datare la fondazione greca di Zankle tra il 734 e il 730 a.C., ossia tra la fondazione di Naxos e quella di Reggio.[27] Ciò perché, secondo la tradizione confluita in pseudo Scimno (*vv*. 286–296), alla fondazione di Zankle avrebbero partecipato anche Calcidesi di Naxos e gli Zanklei avrebbero contribuito massicciamente, secondo Strabone,

[21] Diod. 4.85.1: *Si dice di lui che superasse di gran lunga gli eroi di cui abbiamo fatto cenno per il suo fisico imponente e una forza fuori dal comune, che fosse amante della caccia e che grazie al suo vigore fisico e alla brama di gloria abbia realizzato grandi opere*.

[22] Si tratta pertanto di un nome *e natura* derivante dalle caratteristiche fisiche del luogo, soprattutto dai particolari fenomeni osservabili ossia dai sismi e dalle trasformazioni del suolo, dal non comune sistema di correnti e ancora dalla fauna marina e nel fenomeno ottico della Fata Morgana che connotano tutti l'area dello Stretto come luogo che suscita sensazioni oscillanti tra il terribile e l'affascinante, la meraviglia e il terrore. Vedi anche Prestianni Giallombardo 2002.

[23] Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Ζάγκλη; Call. *P.Oxy* 2080, 68 ss. Cfr. Antonelli 1996, 315–325. La presenza in Callimaco al verso 71 del frammento 43 degli *Aitia* dell'occultamento della falce cronia a Zancle, ha suggerito ad alcuni studiosi che essa fosse stata una elaborazione della fantasia del poeta ellenistico.

[24] Timeo (*FGrHist* 566 F 79) che citava Alceo (fr. 188 Page) e Acusilao (*FGrHist* 2 F 4 ap. Schol Apoll. Rhod. 4,992).

[25] Eph., *FGrHist* 2a.70, F 137a = Strabo 6.2.2: φησὶ δὲ ταύτας Ἔφορος πρώτας κτισθῆναι πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἐν Σικελίᾳ δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ μετὰ τὰ Τρωικά. Su Eforo vedi, tra gli altri, Porciani 2013; De Fidio – Talamo 2014; Vannini 2018; Parmeggiani 2024.

[26] Nella definizione di questa cronologia, si utilizza un'altra testimonianza di Eforo (Eph., *FGrHist* 2a.70, F 137a = Clem. Alex., *Strom*. I.139.3) il quale dice che dopo la distruzione di Troia gli Eraclidi tornarono nel Peloponneso 735 anni prima del passaggio in Asia di Alessandro Magno ossia nel 1069 a.C.

[27] Eusebio, nella versione armena del *Chronikon*, riferisce che Silinus e Gangle in Sicilia furono fondate nel quarto anno della V olimpiade, ossia nel 757/756 a.C. Sebbene la fondazione di Selinus sia avvenuta un secolo dopo, la cronologia proposta da Eusebio potrebbe riflettere quella dello stanziamento dei pirati cumani a Zankle.

alla fondazione di Reggio (*FGrHist* 555 F 9 = Strabo 6.1.6). In compenso, però, Tucidide fornisce una serie di indicazioni che riguardano l'origine sicula del toponimo e l'identità degli insediati *in loco*. Egli narra che il sito, prima della fondazione canonica, aveva ospitato un insediamento di pirati cumani provenienti da Cuma Opicia: Ζάγκλη δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικίᾳ Χαλκιδικῆς πόλεως λῃστῶν ἀφικομένων ᾠκίσθη ... ὄνομα δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Ζάγκλη ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν Σικελῶν κληθεῖσα, ὅτι δρεπανοειδὲς τὴν ἰδέαν τὸ χωρίον ἐστί (τὸ δὲ δρέπανον οἱ Σικελοὶ ζάγκλον καλοῦσιν.

Sebbene nessuna evidenza archeologica nella moderna Messina sia riuscita sin qui a confermare la frequenza dell'area da parte di pirati[28] – cosa che ovviamente non può stupirci – non abbiamo alcun motivo di non credere al racconto di Tucidide visto che il controllo dell'area dello Stretto per gli Euboici stanziati sulle coste tirreniche era vitale, rappresentando essa la rotta più breve dall'area occidentale verso la madrepatria e viceversa. Come ho avuto modo di dire in altra sede, la più recente indagine archeologica condotta a Cuma ha restituito materiale databile alla metà dell'VIII secolo a.C., livellando cronologicamente la fondazione di Cuma con l'epoca dell'arrivo dei pirati a Zankle, desumibile dalla narrazione di Tucidide e dalla collazione delle fonti già citate. Tale coincidenza suggerirebbe che gli Euboici, stanziati a Pithecusa,[29] probabilmente a seguito di una divergenza, si sarebbero divisi in due gruppi: uno avrebbe fondato Cuma[30], mentre l'altro, minoritario, avrebbe dato vita allo stanziamento sulla sponda siciliana dello Stretto, senza alcuna pretesa di dare ad esso la dignità di *polis*. É probabile che Zankle, in un primo tempo, assumesse la funzione di importante punto di riferimento lungo la rotta frequentata dagli Euboici e, al pari di Pithecusa, si caratterizzasse per la sua apertura ai più variegati apporti etnici. Pertanto, anche Zankle era stata inizialmente concepita non come una vera *apoikia*, ma quale base marittima ed emporica con funzione di controllo delle rotte e per l'esercizio della pirateria, intesa come forma commerciale, cronologicamente ascrivibile in quella cornice di contatti precoloniali.

Successivamente, continua Tucidide, *apoikoi* giunti da Calcide e dal resto dell'Eubea, guidati da Periere cumano e da Cratemene calcidese, fondarono la città di Zankle. Il mantenimento del toponimo siculo,[31] anche dopo la *ktisis* 'ufficiale' della città, confermerebbe l'esistenza di rapporti pacifici tra la componente greca e quella sicula, avvalorando quanto abbiamo supposto, a tal proposito, per il mito di Orione. Inoltre, i pirati già stanziati a Zankle potrebbero avere svolto un ruolo di mediazione tra il gruppo consistente di *apoikoi* che ora giungevano e la componente sicula presente nell'area. A questo

[28] Sulla pirateria vedi Sumner 1978, 211–225; Garlan 1987; Luraghi 2006; De Souza 2013; De Souza 2014.

[29] Vallet 1958, 54 ss.; Antonelli 1996, 315 ss.; Consolo Langher 1996, 379 ss. Su Pithecusa vd. Buchner – Ridgway 1993; La Torre 2011; Braccesi – Nocita 2017, 24. Sull'anteriorità della fondazione di Pithecusa rispetto a Cuma nella tradizione letteraria Liv. 8.22.6 e Flegonte di Tralles (*FGrHist* 257 F 36). *Contra* Strab. 5.4.4.

[30] I materiali ritrovati e datati alla metà circa dell'VIII sec. a.C. inducono a proporre una cronologia alta anche per Cuma la cui fondazione risulterebbe comunque posteriore a quella di Pithecusa, ma per un intervallo di tempo inferiore: Greco – Mermati 2007, 143–162, in part. 148–149. Cfr. inoltre Cuozzo – D'Agostino – Del Verme 2006, 20 e 133 ss.; D'Agostino – D'Acunto 2009, 483–522; La Torre 2011, 34.

[31] Ulteriore testimonianza sulle origini del toponimo è offerta da Stefano Bizantino che propone un diligente elenco di etimologie del toponimo (*s.v.* Zankle), riflesso di tradizioni varie e di diverso orientamento. L'eponimia è attribuita al re encorio Zanklo, un'altra tradizione connette l'origine ad una sorgente e, per ultima, ritroviamo il riferimento alla denominazione della città dalla falce di Cronio. Vedi anche Eust., *ad Od*. 12.104; 20.13 che conferma la derivazione del toponimo dalla conformazione del porto *skolion* da cui il siculo *zanklion*, *zankle*.

proposito va rimarcato come la tradizione principale riconoscesse ad un esponente della *apoikia* di Cuma Opicia il ruolo di ecista, forse quale mezzo per ricucire antichi conflitti. A questo proposito, vale la pena di ricordare come la ricerca archeologica abbia restituito nel 2007, presso il cd. Palazzo Colapesce, un'area identificata, in base ai reperti rinvenuti, come sacra. Lo strato più antico, datato all'VIII sec. a.C., ha restituito una fossa il cui fondo è composto di argilla concotta e bruciata; alla estremità sono stati rinvenuti frammenti ceramici ed ossa di animali che attesterebbero la pratica di culti per un periodo ascrivibile al momento della fondazione. Al secolo successivo sono datati due edifici, A e B, anch'essi di chiara destinazione sacra, sebbene non sia stato possibile individuare la divinità venerata. Gli archeologi suggestionati dalle forti analogie riscontrate tra i contesti materiali, dalla presenza di esiti di fuochi e di ossa di animali, e dalla tradizione letteraria ipotizzano che l'area potesse essere stata destinata non ad un culto divino, ma al duplice culto eroico legato ai riti di fondazione. A prescindere comunque dal fatto che questa fosse o meno la sede in cui erano commemorati gli ecisti, resta il fatto che questa complessa area cultuale sottintende l'esistenza di una comunità con un'identità politica già delineata ed operativa. È un fatto che la ripartizione spaziale di un'area di insediamento, la destinazione d'uso di una superficie a forte vocazione pubblico-sacrale, tradiscano sia il senso di appartenenza ed identità sia una *governance* abilitata al trattamento del territorio.

Segue in Tucidide una anticipazione degli eventi significativi che scandirono la storia della città, tutti però concentrati su avvenimenti che riguardarono le 'rifondazioni' della città, attestate anche per via numismatica grazie al mutamento di tipi e legende: l'insediamento, incoraggiato da Anassila, dei Sami e di alcuni Ioni,[32] profughi dalle loro città dopo la battaglia di Lade (494 a.C.), la cacciata di costoro ad opera dello stesso Anassila e la sua rifondazione di Zankle con il nome di Messene,[33] in omaggio dell'antica patria del signore di Reggio. Nell'arco di pochi anni, Zankle subisce, pertanto, importanti mutamenti della componente civica sotto l'impulso degli interessi politici di Anassila, proteso ad unificare le due città dello Stretto, e, soprattutto, attirato dalla floridezza dell'insediamento, derivante dalla sua funzione strategica quale arteria di transito nei flussi commerciali tra i due mari. A proposito di questi mutamenti, ciò che più stupisce è l'assenza nelle fonti di accenni di ribellione o di tentativi di difesa da parte della comunità Zanklea di fronte agli attacchi di Ippocrate e di Anassila, nei riguardi dei Sami prima, dei Messeni poco dopo. Il sostanziale silenzio delle fonti a questo riguardo, unitamente all'assenza di una legenda sulle monete al genitivo plurale della comunità poleica,[34] simbolo di una dichiarata identità, evidenzia l'interesse da parte della classe dirigente a privilegiare la connotazione geo-economica della città a costo di rinunciare alla propria identità ideologica: in altre parole, lo sguardo verso il mare e l'attenzione alle sue potenzialità economiche

[32] La vicenda è narrata anche da Erodoto (6.22.2–23.6) e vi accenna Aristotele (*Polit*. 5.1.11).

[33] Dunque la metonomasia della città è attribuita ad Anassila che l'avrebbe rifondata con una popolazione mista (Thuc. 6.4.5–6), in maggior misura proveniente dalla sua stessa patria.

[34] Grazie agli introiti derivanti dai commerci e dalla funzione di riparo del porto, la città inizia a coniare già tra il 535 e il 530 a.C. Le prime monete presentano i tipi del delfino entro una falce e della conchiglia in quadrato incuso. Sul significato simbolico della conchiglia e sul suo legame al mito di Urano vd. Caccamo Caltabiano 1999, 25–30. Ad un periodo successivo si datano le dracme pesanti con il tipo del delfino entro la falce del porto/quadrato incuso ripartito e con una conchiglia al centro, e sempre al D/ la legenda ΔΑΝΚ/ΔΑΝΚΛ/ΔΑΝΚΛΕ, mai però riscontrata al genitivo plurale. Su ciò, vedi Santagati 2018.

e culturali sembrano costituire i tratti profondi e nativi della *ktisis* zanklea.[35] Sarà, probabilmente, per questo motivo che sulle monete inizialmente si privilegi il toponimo nella sua forma abbreviata con il delta calcidese, secondo l'originaria denominazione indigena. Solo con l'occupazione della città da parte dei Messeni, che sostituiranno l'antico nome siculo con un toponimo greco collegato alla loro origine, sarà possibile riscontrare la legenda al genitivo plurale, espressione di una dichiarata, se non rivendicata, identità.

La rifondazione di Zankle, con elementi provenienti dalla Messenia e la metanomasia di Zankle ad opera di Anassila, è nota anche a Strabone (6.2.3) che torna a ribadire il significato del vecchio toponimo Zankle dal siculo: aggiunge inoltre un particolare sulle origini della città che sarebbe stata fondata anche per iniziativa dei Nassii di Sicilia. Questi ultimi sono chiamati in causa pure da Pseudo Scimno *vv*. 283–290, debitore verosimilmente di questa tradizione da Eforo.[36]

Scendendo nel tempo, dobbiamo rilevare quanto particolarmente problematica si presenti la testimonianza di Pausania il quale sembra fondere tradizioni diverse, affastellate e contratte senza alcun rispetto della cronologia degli avvenimenti. Nel libro dedicato alla Messenia, egli ricorda l'invito rivolto da Anassila ai profughi messeni in relazione alla fine della seconda guerra messenica. Non è nostra intenzione entrare in merito al problema cronologico posto da Pausania che, tra le altre cose, colloca la figura di Anassila nella metà del VII secolo, certi di un errore da parte del Periegeta che, nei confronti di questa vicenda, dimostra un uso disinvolto delle sue fonti.[37] L'uso distorto delle fonti di riferimento si riconferma ancora, per il tema di nostro interesse, nel paragrafo successivo dove il Periegeta si avventura in un accenno alla storia più antica di Zankle. A tal proposito infatti scrive: Ζάγκλην δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατέλαβον λῃσταί, καὶ ἐν ἐρήμῳ τῇ γῇ τειχίσαντες ὅσον περὶ τὸν λιμένα ὁρμητηρίῳ πρὸς τὰς καταδρομὰς καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐπίπλους ἐχρῶντο: ἡγεμόνες δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῶν Κραταιμένης Σάμιος καὶ Περιήρης ἐκ Χαλκίδος. Περιήρει δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Κραταιμένει καὶ ἄλλους ἐπαγαγέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξεν οἰκήτορας.[38] Pausania, dunque, pur conoscendo il primo stanziamento a Zankle ad opera di pirati, anticipando eventi successivi, sostiene che questi furono guidati da Periere e Cratemene, legando fatti che appartengono a due diverse fasi. Inoltre, contrariamente alla tradizione, il Periegeta sostiene che Cratemene fosse samio. Forse quest'ultimo particolare è quello che non lascia più dubbi sull'affastellamento disordinato di notizie che Pausania aveva reperito nelle sue fonti: oltre ad anticipare la *ktisis* della città attribuendola ai pirati, allo stesso modo, anticipando la presenza samia in città, considera uno degli ecisti originario

[35] La tradizione letteraria infatti accredita Zankle di numerose iniziative coloniali volte a creare non una forma di potentato politico, bensì una rete di *emporia* utili a delineare quello che felicemente è stato definito "sistema dello Stretto": un gruppo guidato da Antimnesto (Antioch., *FGrHist* 555 F 9 *ap*. Strab. 6.1.6) dalla città falcata andò a fondare Rhegion sulla costa opposta, mentre altri puntarono ad ovest e diedero vita a Metauros (od. Gioia Tauro); sulla costa isolana invece sorsero, sempre per iniziativa zanklea, Mylai e poi Himera.

[36] A tal proposito, vedi, da ultimo, Braccesi – Nocita 2017, 43 s. che individuano echi di propaganda atenocentrica anche nelle fondazioni ioniche di Sicilia.

[37] Sui vari problemi posti da Pausania nella narrazione degli eventi relativi alla seconda guerra messenica che è messa in connessione con l'arrivo dei Messeni in Occidente, vedi il commento in Musti – Torelli 1991, 235 ss. con discussione e bibliografia precedente.

[38] Paus. 4.23.7: *Zankle fu all'origine occupata da pirati, i quali, cinta di mura soltanto la zona del porto, in una terra disabitata, se ne servirono come base per le loro scorrerie e i loro assalti. Li guidavano Cratemene di Samo e Periere di Calcide. Più tardi, Periere e Cratemene decisero di far venire anche altri coloni greci*.

di Samo. Altrettanto incredibile la notizia relativa all'*eremia* dei luoghi: a parte l'evidenza archeologica che come abbiamo detto attesta una continuità di vita a partire dal neolitico, rimane incredibile che un punto di approdo così nevralgico rimanesse disabitato fino all'VIII secolo a.C. Per quanto riguarda la fortificazione del luogo, non abbiamo alcuna attestazione per un'età così antica, né sul piano archeologico né su quello storiografico. Il riferimento alla fortificazione potrebbe essere stato condizionato da quanto scrive Tucidide che, nel primo libro delle sue storie, dice che le città, divenute ricche, si davano fortificazioni.[39] Alla luce di quanto detto credo che si possa senza ombra di dubbio affermare l'inattendibilità delle affermazioni del Periegeta che opera una "contrazione deformante" del passo di Tucidide[40] e non solo.

A conclusione di questa disamina della tradizione sulla fondazione di Zankle e sulla sua metonomasia, va detto che il tentativo di attribuire una paternità a queste narrazioni risulta quasi impossibile a causa della perdita di opere per noi preziosissime quale quella di Ecateo (*FGrHist* 1 F 72), di Ippi di Reggio e di Antioco.[41] La loro esegesi comunque consente di rilevare che esse enfatizzano o la discendenza del sito da una matrice anellenica (il re siculo Zanclo) o, per contro, una poco realistica *eremia* dei luoghi all'arrivo dei Greci. Inoltre, per l'origine, le fonti giunte fino a noi evidenziano un forte debito nei confronti del patrimonio mitologico greco eliminare virgola e nel fluire degli eventi rivelano la tendenza propagandistica a rimarcare dati che attraggono la città nella costellazione ionico-calcidese o dorica/messenia. Sta di fatto che l'atipicità della fondazione di Zankle aveva affascinato persino il poeta Callimaco, attirandone l'attenzione. Nel lungo frammento degli *aitia* dedicato ai riti celebrati nelle *ktiseis* greche in onore dell'ecista, ritroviamo alcune linee che riferiscono la peculiare formula, per noi di grande interesse per gli elementi di conoscenza che fornisce in tema di culti e riti di fondazioni.[42] Il frammento è assai noto e, nel tempo, particolarmente studiato e dibattuto da parte degli studiosi.[43] Per questo motivo limiterò alla questione poche e brevi riflessioni partendo dalla

[39] Thuc. 1.7. Vedi Wallinga 1993.

[40] La confusa testimonianza di Pausania (4.23.6–10) incornicia gli avvenimenti al tempo della seconda guerra messenica allorché in Elide ripararono dei Messeni guidati da Gorgo e Manticlo: il primo suggeriva di stabilirsi a Zacinto, l'altro prospettava come meta la Sardegna. Nel contempo Anassila invitava i Messeni a trasferirsi in Italia e ad aiutarlo a conquistare l'antistante Zancle. Pausania aggiunge che la città era stata occupata e fortificata dai pirati sotto la guida di Cratemene da Samo e di Periere da Calcide. Dunque gli Zanklei furono battuti per mare e per terra, molti cercarono scampo presso gli altari degli dei e così furono risparmiati dai due profughi Messeni, contro le disposizioni di Anassila. Gorgo e Manticlo diedero e ricevettero giuramenti avviando così la coabitazione pacifica dei due elementi nella città, ribattezzata Messene. Insostenibile appare a questo punto la data altissima indicata da Pausania, ovvero la 29esima Olimpiade (664–660 a.C.). Sul passo vedi commento in Musti – Torelli 1991.

[41] Antioch., *FGrHist* 555 F 9 riferisce il nome dello zancleo Antimnesto, fondatore di Rhegion. Vedi, da ultimo, Nafissi 2024.

[42] Il culto eroico tributato all'ecista si celebrava, probabilmente, con cadenza annuale: Liv. 40.4.9 per Eneia nella Calcidica, Paus. 3.1.8 per Tera; Ath. 7.297–298 per Faselide. Sul culto dell'ecista dopo la sua morte vedi Hdt. 6.38.1, per Milziade il Vecchio nel Chersoneso; Diod. 11.38.5; 11.49.2; 11.53.2 e 11.66.4, attesta forme di eroizzazione di Gelone, di Ierone e di Terone per la loro attività ecistica; Diod. 12.8.2 per Ducezio; Diod. 16.20.6 per Dione vivente; Diod 16.90.1 e Plut., *Tim*. 39.5 per Timoleonte.

[43] *P.Oxy* 2080 = Call., *Aet*. 2, fr. 43, 58–83 Pf. Vedi anche Massimilla 1996, 112–113; 185; 320 ss. dove il lungo frammento è contraddistinto dal n. 50. Per un'analisi approfondita dei numerosi spunti offerti dal frammento in fatto di riti, culti, prassi e 'diritto coloniario', vedi Raccuia 2002, 447 ss.

formula utilizzata a Zankle. Preliminarmente, appare utile accennare che nelle *apoikiai* siceliote, in onore del fondatore, si predisponeva una νομίμη εἰλαπίνη in cui si invitava nominalmente l'ecista,[44] ad eccezione di Zankle (*v*. 79) dove non era invocato alcun nome bensì era recitata la seguente formula: *chiunque fondò la nostra città convenga benevolo al banchetto, anzi è possibile condurne due ed anche di più: non poco sangue bovino è stato versato* (*vv*. 81–83). In altre parole, dopo avere dichiarato il disconoscimento della qualifica di *polissouchos* sia per Cratemene sia per Periere da parte della comunità,[45] apprendiamo che il rito prevedeva un sacrificio cruento (*vv*. 80–83) destinato ad un solo eroe che però poteva giungere al banchetto con compagni a lui graditi.[46]

Un altro importante tassello per una migliore conoscenza degli aspetti istituzionali del culto in onore dell'ecista, proviene dalla indicazione relativa al fatto che erano i demiurghi (*v*. 80),[47] autorità civiche, a dovere pronunciare la formula di invito al banchetto. Al contempo, la formula pronunciata a Zankle evidenzia un evidente disaccordo tra gli ecisti, a causa del quale si rendeva necessario interpellare la divinità, individuata in quell'Apollo al quale, come è noto, Teocle aveva dedicato un tempio a Naxos, come tangibile segno d'ossequio.

In conclusione, possiamo affermare che saranno proprio le potenzialità economiche della città a sentinella dello Stretto e il suo ruolo di raccordo tra gli *emporia* sorti sulla costa settentrionale dell'isola e sulla prospiciente costa tirrenica magnogreca a costituire una forte attrattiva per quei gruppi che nel tempo si sono avvicendati nell'area dello Stretto. Il riconoscimento del valore strategico dell'area, base importante per un affondo verso nuovi e più ampi mercati, e della vitalità del sito a partire da epoche remote eliminare virgola aveva alimentato nel tempo, laddove la memoria storica non riusciva ad andare indietro, l'elaborazione di storie e leggende tese a nobilitare e rendere conto dell'antichità di un'area i cui fenomeni naturali conferivano un carattere straordinario.

[44] Vedi le linee 54 e 55 del frammento.

[45] Il culto, infatti, aveva carattere pubblico e non privato, come dimostra l'uso dei termini utilizzati dal poeta che rinviano tutti al piano istituzionale e pubblico: ad esempio, τέθμιον al v. 26, δημοσίην al v. 37, νομίμην al v. 55. Per una testimonianza archeologica del culto tributato ad un ecista vedi la coppa rinvenuta a Gela che, datata al V secolo a.C., riporta l'iscrizione *Mnasìtale dedicò ad Antifemo* attestante la celebrazione di onori nei confronti dell'ecista. Cfr. Orsi 1900, 273–274; Dubois 1989, 159, n. 135.

[46] Sulle similitudini tra questo sacrificio e quello del toro per Achille, con formula evocativa dello spirito di un defunto, sia esso uomo o donna, su un documento epigrafico da Cirene, vedi Raccuia 2002 con discussione e bibliografia precedente e, da ultimo, Giangiulio 2021 che individua collegamenti con la *lex sacra* di Selinunte.

[47] Il demiurgo, secondo quanto testimonia Aristotele (*Pol*. 5.1310b), era una carica magistratuale diffusa in Magna Grecia già in età arcaica, assimilabile agli arconti eponimi di altre realtà politico-istituzionali. Su ciò vedi ancora Sartori 1953, 109 ss. Nell'area occidentale delle colonie, demiurghi con funzione eponima sono attestati a Crimisa, Caulonia, Petelia e, probabilmente anche a Terina e Lao. Secondo Esichio, i demiurghi, presso i Dori, sono coloro che curano *ta demosia*. L'*Etymologicum magnum* precisa che tra gli Argivi e i Tessali la denominazione per demiurghi corrispondeva a οἱ περὶ τὰ τέλη.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 107–119
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.008.21398
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Shifting Origins, over Time Oblivion: Perspectives and Reflections on "Minor" *ktistai*

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Abstract

Starting from various *poleis'* foundation traditions, the paper aims at investigating some figures, somehow linked to κτίσις but seemingly having a "minor" role, either in contrast to the "official" κτίσται or due to their protagonist positions in lesser-known versions. Emphasizing the socio-political function of the κτίσις accounts, a series of examples from Asia Minor will serve as main points to attempt to show how, instead, they must have played a significant role in the contexts that developed the traditions of which they are protagonists.

Keywords: *Ktisis*, *ktistes*, foundation traditions, hero, eponyms, epigraphy, traditions, Pausanias, Strabo, Ionia, Asia Minor, Samos, Ephesus, Teos, Erythrai.

As the title suggests, the purpose of this paper is to investigate role and characters of "minor" κτίσται through a series of examples.[1] First of all, it is necessary to clarify what it is meant by *minor*: it is used here to designate all of those figures having any sort of association with the κτίσις of a context (πόλις etc.) and appearing to have a minor role, more marginal in traditions or in cults, in contrast to other figures considered and recognized as significant and "official" in the same context.

These minor κτίσται are generally the leading and key-figures in oecistic traditions lesser known than those we could define as *vulgatae*: for this reason, past scholars usually considered them as hardly credible—resulting from poetic creations or literary inspirations, especially when preserved by later authors[2]—or as "empty" or artificial con-

[1] About κτίστης, see Brelich 1958; Leschhorn 1984; Sheer 1993; Antonaccio 1994; Boardman 2004, 165–198; Coppola 2008, 9–26; Mortensen 2015; papers in Castiglioni – Carboni – Giuman – Bernier-Farella 2018; Caneva – Coppola 2020.

[2] See, for example, Sakellariou 1958, 364 about some minor Milesian κτίσις traditions.

structions, even when they were inspired by ideological needs characterizing a particular historical period.[3]

That said, two milestones are to be kept in mind throughout this investigation:

1. *the role of tradition and transmission*: knowing little of some κτίσται is intrinsically connected partly to our limited knowledge of ancient authors and their works[4] and partly to the fortune the memory of such κτίσται has had over time so that it could be preserved. A third—not less important—factor is the role of ancient authors: in more than one case their 'interference' is clearly identifiable in them reporting local traditions, mixing available-to-them materials and elements with different origins and creating a big patchwork.[5]

2. *the political and social functions of oecistic traditions and—so—of the* κτίστης: the construction—*before*—and the celebration—*after*—of a foundation tradition is a strong way through which the Greek Man, especially in colonial contexts, uses the past as a source of authority, authenticity and definition of the power; celebrating the foundation means remembering and reiterating its own identity, and the κτίστης, the founder, has an important role in this sense: with his cult he is a synthesis of memory, belief and luster.[6]

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It is here that *multiplicity* takes over: every πόλις is in fact dynamic, subject to changes resulting from wars, exchanges and internal crises; foundation traditions (and κτίσται) could serve as instruments through which cities could keep memories of such vicissitudes, coming down in favour of either continuance or break with the "past" and, in so doing, rebuilding their own *facies* in the "present."[7] In other words, their distinctive features—whether or not real or at least *believed* as real—are useful in reinforcing the identity of the πόλις responding to claims and needs of a specific circumstance.[8]

Everything highlighted up to this point falls in the range of what has been studied in relation to the manipulation and construction of the past for propaganda purposes on one side, and to the use of mythographic and religious traditions to reinforce local, civic and federal supra–structures on the other—and, in recent times, the performativity of the identity is particularly stressed: there is not one single identity, but multiple identity processes.[9]

[3] Here referring to what has been stressed out by some scholars about 2nd century AD and Hadrian's politics: under this emperor and his cultural and social politics, Greek cities found a new interest in their past – especially in creating *ex novo* and promoting eponymy traditions and myths, see Strubbe 1984–1986; Curty 1995, 254, 259–263. Ultimately, these minor κτίσται have not always been thoroughly studied and valued: see for example, later on in this paper, the tradition on the descendants of Deiochus as of Samos.

[4] By the way, even unavailability or a not always exhaustive knowledge of archaeological data are of no help for scholars to properly study the past (and the origins especially) of a context.

[5] In other words, they tried to "fix" those materials, to "historicize" and understand them: on this topic, related to ancient literature in fragments, Brunt 1980, but also Polito 2017 (specifically about Pausanias and Strabo as sources for Ionian traditions).

[6] See discussions and references on the topic in Novello – Savino 2022, 209–211.

[7] Hall 2008, 386–387; De Luna 2017, 84.

[8] Novello – Savino 2022, 210.

[9] In the vast bibliography on the topic, see Gehrke 2001, 286–298; Proietti 2012, 11–22; Mac Sweeney 2013, 10. On the use of the past in ancient Greek world, see also Boardman 2004, 1–20.

No wonder that in colonial contexts there could be many traditions around one single character or involving different or additional κτίσται.

Even if for the most famous colonies after the 8th century BC the unity in relation to the κτίστης is a most common "trend" (at least on a cultic level), the issue remains nevertheless more complex than it is generally believed.[10]

On the one hand, for communities that emerged starting from Archaic Age there is a more significant correspondence between real, historical evidence and foundation accounts—κτίσται are usually almost-historical figures, made object of a poleic cult;[11] on the other one, for communities arisen in earlier times—referring here to the so-called *migrations*—the framework of traditions is very articulated, with a great number of κτίσται, much more evanescent and mythical; even the relations with continental Greece, the motherland, are often primarily based on more ideological than actual and historical value.[12] This situation can sometimes be explained by certain, precise occurrences. A good example is given by the Ionian and Aeolian contexts in Asia Minor, where there are two different "trends": early on local traditions aimed to exalt the remotest Greek origins of the cities, identifying as κτίσται the descendants of mythical γένη of Continental Greece;[13] but at a certain point communities had the urge to stress their Ionian and Aeolian origins, according to criteria, κτίσται included, that are significant in a regional dimension, beyond the single πόλις—this way, broader traditions–frameworks on Ionian and Aeolian migrations came to light.[14]

Thus, contrasts, oppositions and conciliations ensue among traditions, and there is not always evidence that substantiates them—or for example the presence of a cult. Finally, one should also not forget the conspicuous presence of figures close, but not always assimilable, to the κτίστης, the so-called ἀρχηγέται.[15]

The multiplicity of the traditions is fundamentally given by a dialectic exchange established between the parties that are involved and whose interests become central the moment the need to (re)define a feature of one's own past emerges: developments may involve solemnity and collective remembrance as well as more informal situations, but also different discursive strategies, allowing to create both vertical and horizontal relationships and relations—which become particularly functional to political alliances with the category of the *Other*.[16]

However, this is exactly how alternative traditions, "versions" and "variants" with the so-called *minor* κτίσται come to light: each one becomes significant when the semanticating

[10] As Malkin 1987, 261–266 has already pointed out.

[11] Hall 2008, 382–383 and 403–411 (but see already Graham 1982, 83). For some common *patterns* in κτίσις traditions, see Dougherty 1993.

[12] *Ibidem* (for foundations traditions of Ionian Asia Minor, see also Mac Sweneey 2017, *passim*).

[13] Novello 2020a, 44–47.

[14] For Aeolian Migration, see Rose 2005 and papers in Mele – Napolitano – Visconti 2005; for Ionian Migration and its relation with historiography and κτίσις traditions of the πόλεις in Asia Minor, see Prinz 1979, 314–376; Crielaard 2009; Kuciak 2013; Mac Sweneey 2013; Polito 2016; Mac Sweeney 2017; Polito 2018a; Polito 2018b; Novello 2020a; Sammartano 2020, 91–117; on archaeological aspects, see in particular Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 386–397; Vanschoonwinkel 2006. See also Hallmannsecker 2022 for Ionia in Roman Age.

[15] On the lexicon of the colonization and κτίσις traditions: Casevitz 1985; on the problematic but important figure of the ἀρχηγέτης, also related to κτίσις traditions: Prost 2001, 111; on the term: Biagetti 2020.

[16] On the *Other* as instrument for shaping identity: Mac Sweeney 2013, 1–6.

context is individuated—in other words, every version could become a mirror of an evolution; the scholar must therefore show some sensitivity to the type of message tradition wants to convey. After that, indistinct overlapping of viewpoints in ancient sources clearly complicates investigations of any material of the sort.

The cases that will be examined below precisely concern foundation traditions of πόλεις arisen in relation to great migrations in Asia Minor.

Firstly, there are two cases related to Samos involving different mechanisms. It is useful to recall that Samos' foundation is generally ascribed, in traditions, to the local hero Ankaios, attested in sources from Archaic to Imperial Age;[17] this one is later joined by Prokles and Tembrion, 'ionian' κτίσται of Samos.[18]

A "minor" κτίστης story is preserved by a Homeric *scholion*: according to this, Samos would have been founded by descendants of a Greek warrior in Troy, Deiochus, moving from Athens.[19] This account has been ignored by most scholars or, anyway, never deeply studied.[20]

Next to the reference to Athens, the relevant point is Deiochus. This warrior, once mentioned in *Iliad*, is yet problematic because we know only one information about him: in the poem he is the only Greek warrior who dies because of a shot in the back during an attempted escape (an act of cowardice).[21] Secondly, the verb used in the *scholion*, συνοικίζω, may raise doubts: it may refer as much to a colonial action together with someone as to a repopulation, involving anyway more components.[22]

Bearing this in mind, several hypotheses can be formulated about these minor κτίσται—the descendants of the warrior Deiochus—all assuming different points of view: 1. First of all, the descendants would colonize Samos only after the Trojan War, fought by their ancestor: this chronology is not so common in foundations traditions of the Ionian context, especially if not connected to the so–called Ionian Migration.[23] 2. On the one hand, it is possible that the story was meant to refer to the descendants of Deiochous as part of the broader contingent of the Ionian migration moving by Athens, where the tradition places the starting point of the expedition; 3. on the other hand, the tradition might have been, on the contrary, the result of an intervention desired by Athens in order to turn out to be the only 'motherland' of Samos. The historical circumstances supporting such a tradition could be identified where the two πόλεις were so close, especially in conflictual terms (and Athens would win): among them, the gradual establishment of the Attic πόλις in Asia (particularly after the Delian League's creation), the Samian revolt of 441/439 BC, the establishment of the cleruchy on the island in the first half of the 4th century BC.[24]

[17] About Samos' foundation accounts and Ankaios, see references in Novello 2022, 14.

[18] Paus., 7.4.2–3; Strabo 10.2,17 (457), and 14.1.3 (633); Themistagoras Ephesius, *FHG* IV 512, fr. 1. See Novello 2020a, 471–515 for an analysis on Samian foundation accounts about Tembrion and Prokles.

[19] *Schol.* T *in Il.* XV 341b (IV, 84 Erbse): ὦμον ὄπισθεν] μόνον τοῦτόν φασιν Ἑλλήνων ὄπιθε βεβλῆσθαι. καὶ Ἠϊονεὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ Η ὑφ' Ἕκτορος *b(BCE³)T* οὕτως ἀναιρεῖται. τούτου δὲ οἱ ἀπόγονοι Σάμον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν συνῴκισαν. *T*

[20] See Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1916, 237 footnote 2; Jacoby, *FGrHist* III b *Noten*, 245; van der Valk 1963, 454 footnote 213. More recently, Fowler 2013, 586–587 records the tradition.

[21] Hom., *Il.* 15.341–342: see Janko 1992, 264.

[22] See Casevitz 1985, 202–205, but also Moggi 1975.

[23] See *supra* bibliography in footnote 14.

[24] For Samos' history: Shipley 1987.

Although several interpretations are thus possible, none of them are fully demonstrable and the main doubt remains: why establishing a bond with a so marginal figure of the *Iliad* as Deiochus?

The second case about Samos can be interesting because we have a local tradition on an 'official' κτίστης, but a lot of minor characters are mentioned along with him in the same narrative; unfortunately, their effective role in the κτίσις remains unclear.

The source of the tradition is the local, archaic poet Asius, who, quoted by Pausanias, enumerates the genealogy of the most known κτίστης of Samos, Ankaios, connecting him to the eponymous Samos.[25] In this tradition the contribution of the landscape—civic, natural, political—to the affirmation of the identity of the πόλις in a particular moment of its history is evident. In fact, in the narrative Ankaios is presented as the son of Poseidon—god of the sea, symbolizing island's sea–related interests, and god of the Ionian cult *par excellence* in Asia—and Astypalaia—likely the embodiment of the ancient Acropolis of Samos and, in a certain way, a figure connected to an illustrious and panhellenic ancestry.[26] Ankaios marries Samia, daughter of the river on the continent Maender and she gives birth to sons Samos—the eponym of the island—Perilaos, Enudos, Alitherses, and daughter Parthenope; this latter gives birth to Lycomedes with Apollo.[27]

The political framework underlying the narrative is the progressive establishment and construction of the Samian Peraia in the archaic age: in the mirror of the tradition, this is represented by the marriage of Ankaios (symbol of the island) and Samia (symbol of the χώρα on the continent on which Samos, at the poet's time, was already having claims of legitimacy). Samos, their son and eponym, will be the synthesis of island and mainland—as the Samos of the 6th century BC was.[28]

If the whole narrative's political and ideological meaning is *de facto* clear, what is Samos' brothers's role, otherwise never attested? None of other Ankaios' sons is in fact known:[29] were they perhaps famous in Samos at the poet's time and gradually lost relevance? Were they eponyms of samian landscape's parts? Or were they ancestors of samian γένη, legitimized by flanking the official κτίστης? Were they primordial figures connected to peripheral areas legitimized through the authorship of the founder *par excellence*? Were they protagonists of 'alternative' κτίσις traditions first built by isolated or minor civic groups and then convoluted into a more 'official' version?[30] We can also think of them as explaining certain relations or alliances of Samos with the *outside* world. These 'minor' brothers have been neglected by scholars except for a few exegetical attempts: daughter Parthenope has been linked back to the ancient name of the island, *Parthenia,*

[25] Asius, fr. 7 Bernabé (Paus., 7.4.1–2): Ἄσιος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιπτολέμου Σάμιος ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὡς Φοίνικι ἐκ Περιμήδης τῆς Οἰνέως γένοιτο Ἀστυπάλαια καὶ Εὐρώπη, Ποσειδῶνος δὲ καὶ Ἀστυπαλαίας εἶναι παῖδα Ἀγκαῖον, βασιλεύειν δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν καλουμένων Λελέγων· Ἀγκαίῳ δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ λαβόντι τοῦ Μαιάνδρου Σαμίαν γενέσθαι Περίλαον καὶ Ἔνουδον καὶ Σάμον καὶ Ἀλιθέρσην καὶ θυγατέρα ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ Παρθενόπην, Παρθενόπης δὲ τῆς Ἀγκαίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Λυκομήδην γενέσθαι. Ἄσιος μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐδήλωσε. On the poet Asius see Tsagalis 2017, 209–214.

[26] Phoenix and Europe go back to Zeus and Oineus of Aitolia and, from here, to Deucalion and Hellen; see Asius, fr. 7 Bernabé quoted in the previous footnote.

[27] For all these aspects, see Novello 2022, 14 and references cited therein.

[28] See Novello 2022, 16.

[29] See already Friedländer 1912.

[30] On κτίσται's names related to civic groups' names in Ionian context Habicht 1984 (but also Piérart 1985).

preserved by ancient sources (perhaps, in turn, to be traced back to Hera as *Parthenos*, patron goddess of the island)[31] —and her son Lycomedes would not coincide with the more famous king of Sykros;[32] there is only one onomastic evidence of the name Perilaos in a dedication of later age found at the *Heraion*;[33] finally, it has been suggested that the name Alitherses might refer to "having courage in sea" and might be connected, therefore, to Samos' sea-related interests.[34]

The following case is an "alternative" foundation tradition about Ephesos, which has a political purpose like the previous one (and involves Samos itself).

The foundation of Ephesus is generally traced back to the hero Androclus, son of Kodros king of Athens, whose presence is very strong over time in the city, in traditions as well as in cults and arts, especially in sculpture.[35]

This alternative tradition is preserved by Athenaeus in the 6th book (on slavery) of the *Deipnosophistae*[36] and ascribed to an unacknowledged author named Malakos, who maybe lived in hellenistic age and authored an historiograhical opera about Siphnos (*Σιφνίων Ὧροι*).[37]

In it the κτίσται of Ephesus become a thousand slaves from Samos, driven from their island as a result of an oracle, and from whom, according to the author, all Ephesians would descend.[38] This narrative is interesting not only because of a thousand κτίσται, but also because they are characterized by typical features of oecistic and κτίστης literature: a guiding oracle, their condition of disadvantage (in this case they are slaves).[39] Are there elements or reasons which can substantiate the creation of such a narrative?

The fragment seems to embrace a philo–samian perspective: Samos claims a primacy over Ephesos, not only on a chronological level—Ephesos's foundation is after Samos's—but also on a legitimacy one: Ephesians are only Samian slaves discendants and, so, inferior people.

The hypothesis of a Samian origin for such a tradition, with anti–ephesian purposes, is reinforced by the presence of a strong antagonism over time between the two cities—starting from archaic age, a lot of conflicts are attested, whose roots are territorial and boundary disputes, connected also to the creation of samian *peraia* on the continent.[40]

Indeed, one of the 'fighting' instruments has been the manipulation of each other's traditions—there is evidence of that in both literary and historiographical sources as well as in epigraphic ones:[41] Samos and Ephesus operated over time shaping their past through

[31] Tsagalis 2017, 213.

[32] Koch 1927.

[33] *IG* XII 6.1 97.

[34] Ambühl 2006.

[35] See Mortensen 2015, 220–227; Robinson 2017, 194–202; Ferraioli 2018.

[36] Ath., 6.92.267a–b.

[37] On Malakos: *FGrHist* III b Komm., 479.

[38] Malakos, *FGrHist* 552 F1: Μάλακος δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς Σιφνίων ὥροις ἱστορεῖ ὡς τὴν Ἔφεσον δοῦλοι τῶν Σαμίων ὤκισαν χίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες, οἳ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀποστάντες εἰς τὸ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ὄρος κακὰ πολλὰ ἐποίουν τοὺς Σαμίους· ἔτει δὲ ἕκτῳ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ μαντείας οἱ Σάμιοι ἐσπείσαντο τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐπὶ συνθήκαις, καὶ ἀθῷοι ἐξελθόντες τῆς νήσου ἐκπλεύσαντες κατέσχον τὴν Ἔφεσον· καὶ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι ἐκ τούτων ἐγένοντο.

[39] On the oracle as peculiar feature of κτίσις traditions and its value Lombardo 2011 (with *status quaestionis*).

[40] See Novello 2020a, 499–514.

[41] See all evidences collected in Novello 2020a, 499–514.

mechanisms of priority and legitimacy, by seeking to strike at the enemy, without forgetting the κτίσις narratives— and the case of Malakos is perhaps the most evident. So, in this case, the characterization of the thousand κτίσται would be aimed at giving a completely negative portrait of the enemies and, thus, disregarding their claims to legitimacy. Unfortunately, the only sure chronological reference point of this tradition remains Athenaeus, *terminus ante quem* for Malacus.

The case of Geres in the city of Teos is in turn interesting because our perception of him as a minor κτίστης could be related to the role of ancient authors in preserving traditions.

Geres is presented as the chief of one of the colonial contingents which would have contributed to the foundation of the city. This figure is mentioned only by Strabo and Pausanias in their *excursus* on the region of the Ionia;[42] both the authors remind his role as ἔποικος and his boeotian origin.[43] These two accounts are the most complete ones about the foundation of Teos and both remember more κτίσται of the city, chiefs of various people and arrived in succession one after another—first Athamas, then Athenians and Ionians, finally Boeotians with Geres (only Athamas is known as unique κτίστης in some sources).[44]

First of all, Geres shares with another important city's κτίστης the Boeotian origin: in fact, also Athamas, attested in teian context since the archaic age, is said to be Boeotian in traditions;[45] secondly, despite there aren't any other references to Geres in sources, there are no doubts about his bond with the πόλις: his name is connected to one of the two city's harbors (the northernmost one), which is known as *Geraesticus* and Γερραίδαι[46]— and archaeological studies have highlighted and recognized its importance as well.[47]

Therefore, given his relationship to Boeotia, on a par with another important Teian κτίστης, and his association with the harbor, it can be hypothesized that the figure of Geres has been shaped in order to affirm and legitimate "in a boeotian way" certain claims on civic landscape or in a part of it.

The lack of data unfortunately prevents us from understanding whether Geres arose concurrently with—or as part of—the more ancient traditions on Athamas or, on the contrary, the figure was the outcome of later developments in the teian history to reiterate, in a different way, a boeotian claim.

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[42] Strabo 14.1.3 (633); Paus. 7.2.1–4, 10. On the Ionian excursus of both authors: Moreschini 1994; Moggi 1996; Luraghi 2000.

[43] Strabo 14.1.3 (633): Τέω δὲ Ἀθάμας μὲν πρότερον (*scil.* κτίζει), διόπερ Ἀθαμαντίδα καλεῖ αὐτὴν Ἀνακρέων, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν ἀποικίαν Ναῦκλος υἱὸς Κόδρου νόθος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἄποικος καὶ Δάμασος Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Γέρης ἐκ Βοιωτῶν; Paus., 7.3.6: Τέων δὲ ᾤκουν μὲν Ὀρχομένιοι Μινύαι σὺν Ἀθάμαντι ἐς αὐτὴν ἐλθόντες· λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἀθάμας οὗτος ἀπόγονος Ἀθάμαντος εἶναι τοῦ Αἰόλου. Ἀναμεμιγμένοι μὲν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν οἱ Κᾶρες· ἐσήγαγε δὲ Ἴωνας ἐς τὴν Τέων Ἄποικος ἀπόγονος Μελάνθου τέταρτος, ὃς τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις οὐδὲ τοῖς Τηίοις νεώτερον ἐβούλευσεν οὐδέν. ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἔκ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐκ Βοιωτίας ἀφίκοντο ἄνδρες· ἡγοῦντο δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἀττικοῦ Δάμασος καὶ Νάοκλος Κόδρου παῖδες, τῶν δὲ Βοιωτῶν Γέρης Βοιωτός· καὶ σφᾶς συναμφοτέρους ὅ τε Ἄποικος καὶ οἱ Τήιοι συνοίκους ἐδέξαντο.

[44] On Teos' foundation accounts: Moggi–Osanna 2000, 205–207; Fowler 2013, 584–585; Novello 2020a, 307–349.

[45] On Athamas as κτίστης of Teos, see Anac., fr. 142 Gentili (= *PMG*, fr. 18); Pherec., *FGrHist* 3 F102 (= fr. 118 Dolcetti); Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Τέως (τ 107 Billerbeck). See also *CIG* 3083; *CIG* 3078 and Canali de Rossi 2007, 31–32, footnotes 38–39.

[46] Strabo 14.1.30 (644); Livy 37.17.9.

[47] İren – Ünlü 2012, 309.

At the same time, it is possible to imagine a different scenario: different traditions, maybe arisen in different moments, had the same purpose—in this case, the will to self-representing as boeotian; at a certain point, they have been put together in the composite narrative that we know, within which the foundation of the city appears to be fragmented over time, with the succession of different elements (Athamas *before*, Geres *after*). Were Strabo and Pausanias doing this, trying to arrange the available materials?[48] In this case, the "minor' role of Geres as the "last" κτίστης of Teos would be the result of how tradition and ancient authors have preserved its memory.

Finally, our attention will focus on the case of Erythrai; this latter has been chosen because traditions are flanked by epigraphic data—which, in turn, would show the presence of material elements related to the κτίσται.

Ancient sources preserved actually two versions about the foundation of the city:[49] the first one recognizes the eponym Erythros moving from Crete as the κτίστης;[50] in the second one the κτίστης is Knopos, son of the king of Athen Kodros, strictly bonded to the Ionian origin of Erythrai—identifying sons of Kodros as Ionian κτίσται is a topic characterizing most of the ionian cities in Asia.[51] Only Pausanias preserves a narrative within which Erytrhos and Knopos follow each other over time.[52] Epigraphy testifies the presence of a cult for Erythros in the city (2nd century BC): the sacrifice of a sheep on the ninth day of an uncertain month is dedicated to this figure.[53]

There is, then, another important inscription, probably datable to after 340 BC and unfortunately very ruined.[54] Within it two ἡρῷα would be mentioned and perhaps they would be dedicated precisely to a κτίστης. The inscription is a catalogue of the city's public roads and streets, classified as δημοσίαι and ἀνδρόβασμοι. The starting point of most of these roads is the *agora*.[55] On line 6 we read about an ἡρῷον near the *agora* in the description of the position of one road (the ἑτέρη of line 5)[56]. Reinhold Merkelbach and Helmut Engelmann proposed that this ἡρῷον should (perhaps) contain the founder's tomb.[57] If scholars were right, the inscription would thus preserve for us evidence of the presence of a founder's tomb in the center of the city; but which of the two κτίσται known by tradition would the tomb belong to? Erythros or Knopos?

The problem becomes more complex when compared with the continuation of the inscription: in fact, on line 36 ἡρῷον *τοῦ ἀρχηγέτευ*'s mention is used as a reference

[48] On Pausanias and Strabo's working method, see recently Polito 2017.

[49] On Erythrai's foundations accounts Novello 2020b.

[50] Diod. Sic. 5.79.1; 84.3.

[51] Strabo 14.1.3 (633); Polyaenus, *Strat.* 8.43; Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἐρυθραί (ε 131 Billerbeck). On Ionian traditions see references in footnote 14.

[52] Paus. 7.3.7.

[53] *I.Erythrai* 207 and Varınlıoğlu 1980, 149–153. For other evidences of Erythros in epigraphic documents, see *I.Erythrai* 106 and 224 (Novello 2020b, 115–116).

[54] *I.Erythrai* 151. See Engelmann – Merkelbach 1972, 247.

[55] The *agora* constitutes a starting point of reference for the streets mentioned in *ll.* 1–15.

[56] *I.Erythrai* 151, *ll.* 5–6: [- - - · ἑτέρη | ἐκ τ]ῆς ἀγορῆς παρὰ τὸ ἡρώϊον το[ῦ - - - εἰς - - -

[57] Engelmann – Merkelbach 1972, 248. *Contra* Graf 1985, 353. The tomb of the κτίστης, indeed, would traditionally have a central location, right in the *agora*: see for example Coppola 2008, 165.

point for describing the location of another road, along with the *Achilleion*.[58] Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff already speculated it had to be identified with the *Heiligtum* of the κτίστης Erythros, while Engelmann and Merkelbach left the possibility open that it could also be the ἡρῷον of Knopos.[59] So, the question remains open. The case of Erythrai, although it shows material evidence, prompts the question: which κτίστης? Since two are attested by tradition, could it be possible to think of attributing a tomb to each one? But is this really the case? Why, then, is it that one is left in a more central location, while the other one is not? Or, again, why is it that only one tomb is called *heroon of the archegetes*? Is there disparity at a cultic level between the two tomb possessors? Was one of them, already within the city, perceived as a minor κτίστης hero?

Had the cult of one supplanted the other one, of which a material trace nevertheless remained? Or is it necessary to think of a ἡρῷον of another hero in some way bond to the origins of the city, ignored or forgotten by literary sources? Or, more simply, do we think of a non κτίστης hero?

None of the proposed hypotheses can be confirmed only with the data now available; however, if the two tombs actually belonged to two different κτίσται, we would be dealing with a form of duplicity, perhaps presupposing a hierarchy between the two figures.

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These examples of traditions with *minor* κτίσται as protagonists show a very broad framework: from a form of narrative with multiple and possible meanings to a kind of epigraphic data that, matched to traditions, allow us to see an hypothtetical duplicity related to the κτίσται.

Although there is little or no archaeological and cultic evidence, several key points emerge from studying these traditions.

In some cases, we are able to identify the most likely reasons behind a particular construction and characterization and its significance; in some others, we can only trace back to a close connection with local and civic elements, but not beyond that (partly because of critical issues and gaps in the available data). Focusing on these traditions' κτίσται we can note: 1. on the one hand, their characterization remains basically the 'typical' characterization of this kind of figure; 2. On the other hand, specific characterizations can be strictly related to the purpose of the tradition (for example being a slave to penalize prestige and legitimacy of political enemies) but also to the *modus operandi* of ancient authors in preserving (and attempting to understand) these oecistic narratives—this latter hypothesis should not in fact be ruled out.

Surely, interrogating a source and trying to delve into every detail, without any prejudice, allows us if not to reconstruct at least to delineate historical frameworks or, rather,

[58] *I.Erythrai* 151, *ll*. 35–36: ἑτέρη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡρω- | -ίου τοῦ ἀρ]χηγέτευ εἰς Ἀχίλλει[ον. On the ἀρχηγέτης, see *supra* footnote 15.

[59] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1909, 28 footnote 1; Engelmann – Merkelbach 1972, 252. On the structure known as *Heroon*, discovered near the ancient theatre of Erythrai (today near Ildir) and dated to 4th century BC, there is a lack of information, and many doubts arise about the identity of its dedicatee: see Sarıcaoğlu – Köşklük Kaya 2021, 3. On heroes' cults in Erythrai Graf 1985, 351–357.

precise moments during which πόλεις felt certain needs; needs that led to the born of new κτίσται which have had anyway (more or less strong) relevance in the context that shaped them.

Rather than an actual conclusion, I would like to problematize one issue and emphasize it: the persistence over time of these figures, that turn out to be *minor*, especially in cases where they appear to be internal, local constructions.

An identitary κτίσις narrative, structured in a specific way for specific purposes, has survived in ancient sources; but how long has it survived in the context that had created it—in the sense of keeping importance and significance? In other words, do these "minor" κτίσται, after their creation, overlap, replace, or flank other κτίσται? Or do they remain a "peripheral" element, peculiar to a single tribe or civic unit or semi–official context?

And, most importantly, why did one version, among the traditions, last longer than the others? Should we think that it had been more historically prominent? Or, should we think that even in local contexts, at a certain point, everything has become antiquarianism or erudition?

There may not always be an answer, as we have seen. However, the attribute of *minor* referring to a κτίστης remains ultimately a simple matter of perspective; this can be the effect of a comparison between different materials—literary, histioriographical, archaeological—or something related to the *time*-factor.

Shadows on these minor κτίσται are *de facto* only related to having been progressively forgotten or neglected by tradition and transmission; or, if anything, don't forget that, at some point, they could have no longer been functional in representing what was needed by the πόλις or by any other context that had created them.

Abbreviations

CIG – Boeckh, A. *et alii* (1825–1877), *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, voll. I–V, Berlin.
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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 121–134
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.009.21399
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Abdera in Thrace: The *polis* Foundation Ideology in the Literary Sources

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Abstract

The present text examines one of the best-documented foundation myths in the written sources of Thrace: that of the eponymous and mythical founder of Aegean Abdera, Abderos. The preserved texts not only allow us to outline the main characteristics of the myth and the qualities of the eponymous hero but also provide an opportunity to trace the development of the myth over the centuries and its transformation in accordance with the demands and needs of society. And this transformation can also be drastic. Thus, starting as a Persian or more likely Phoenician figure, Abderos was later transformed into a Hellenic, initially maritime, hero, who was subsequently incorporated into Heracles' Eighth Labor, and finally even closely associated with the Thracians. These transformations clearly reveal the myth of the eponymous hero as one of the central, if not the most important, myth after that of the historical figure. It serves as a means for a portion of the society and the elite to seek their identity, while also functioning as a unifying narrative for the diverse colonial community. And consequently, it is a prime example *per excellence* of the presence of *constructivism* in the foundation myth.

Keywords: foundation myth, Abderos, eponumous, mythical *oikistes*, Thrace, Phoenician, Hellenic, Thracian, Heracles's Labors.

Around 656–652 BCE, a group of colonists from Klazomenai, led by the *oikistes* Timesios, landed on the Aegean coast and founded the colony of Abdera.[1] Over the years, it grew into one of the primary economic, military, and cultural centers in the northern Aegean, challenging the supremacy of Thasos in the region. By the late 6th to the first half of the 5th century BCE, it had even become the leading power. The inclusion of its founding in the Eighth

[1] Isaac 1986, 78–79; Tiverios 2008, 85, 91.

Labor of Heracles is particularly indicative of the colony's significance. However, before reaching this peak, Abdera faced difficult challenges from the outset of its existence. Archaeological findings suggest that its population may have been struck by malaria[2] and the river's mouth was silted up which eventually caused some city's topographic changes.[3] The local Thracian tribes actually helped the colonists survive, although the colonists might had been under Thracian domination.[4] This support allowed for the arrival of additional settlers from the nearby city of Klazomenae—that of Teos in 545 BCE, who then acknowledged the Klazomenian Timesios as a hero, or *oikistes*, of the colony.[5] It is hardly to belive that with the arrival of new colonists the colony stabilized and conducted successful military campaigns against the Thracians reaching as far as Pangaion as suggested[6] or the Rhodope Mountains. Indeed, the colony might had been strengthened, but it was more likely the peaceful coexistence and intensive trade relations with the local Thracians that created the conditions which allowed the beginning of the silver coinage in Abdera.[7] Thus, shortly after the Teians settled, in 520/515 BCE Abdera began minting large-denomination silver coins—octadrachms and tetradrachms[8]—which are thought to indicate silver exports[9] and more active participation in international trade.[10] Coin hoards with Abderite coins from that period are discovered in Persepolis, Syria, Egypt, Rhodes, and southern Turkey,[11] and clearly indicate that large-denomination Abderite coins were well-accepted in the domestic market of the Achaemenid Empire. In fact, they reflected the importance which Abdera gained for the Persians as the most loyal center in the northern Aegean world[12] which is well attested also from the treaty concluded between the city and Xerxes during the withdrawal of the Persian army after the defeat at Plataea. The Persian king felt safe only in Abdera, where he concluded a treaty of friendship and gifted the Abderites a golden Persian sword and a tiara adorned with gold.[13] As Benjamin Isaac notes, the people who informed Herodotus about Xerxes' stay had no intention of concealing their pro-Persian past.[14]

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[2] On the earliest necropolis – see also in Skarlatidou 2004, 249–259.

[3] See most recently in Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2004, 235–248; Lazaridis 1971, 33.

[4] On the suggestion that the colonists were under Thracian domination, see Skarlatidou 2000, 325–328.

[5] Hdt 1.168: Φωκαίης μέν νυν πέρι τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὕτω ἔσχε παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοισι καὶ Τήιοι ἐποίησαν. ἐπείτε γὰρ σφέων εἶλε χώματι τὸ τεῖχος Ἅρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηίκης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν Ἄβδηρα, τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας οὐκ ἀπόνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηίκων ἐξελασθεὶς τιμὰς νῦν ὑπὸ Τηίων τῶν ἐν Ἀβδήροισι ὡς ἥρως ἔχει.

[6] Lazaridis 1971, 22; Skarlatidou 1984, 148–149; Isaac 1986, 85–86.

[7] May (1966, 2, n.1; 49–51) associates the beginning of the silver coinage with the rapid development of trade with the Thracian tribes.

[8] Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 97, contra 540/535 BCE, shortly after the establishment of the Teian settlers, suggested by May (1966, 2, n.1; 49–51).

[9] Tiverios 2008, 97.

[10] Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 89.

[11] Ibidem, 34–43.

[12] Isaac 1986, 89.

[13] Hdt. 8.120: μέγα δὲ καὶ τόδε μαρτύριον: φαίνεται γὰρ Ξέρξης ἐν τῇ ὀπίσω κομιδῇ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Ἄβδηρα καὶ ξεινίην τέ σφι συνθέμενος καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκινάκῃ τε χρυσέῳ καὶ τιήρῃ χρυσοπάστῳ. καὶ ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Ἀβδηρῖται, λέγοντες ἔμοιγε οὐδαμῶς πιστά, πρῶτον ἐλύσατο τὴν ζώνην φεύγων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὀπίσω, ὡς ἐν ἀδείῃ ἐών. τὰ δὲ Ἄβδηρα ἵδρυται πρὸς τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς Ἠιόνος, ὅθεν δή μιν φασὶ ἐπιβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν νέα.

[14] Isaac 1986, 90.

At the time when Abdera begun minting its large-denominatoins silver coinage the city might have been within the Persian empire, in the satrapy named "Europe" or at least it was incorporated into the political and economic orbit of Persia.[15] Herodotus mentions that Darius I sent Megabazus "to subdue Thrace,"[16] dated to around 515 BCE.[17] Ultimately, the Persian satrap "placed only the coastal areas of Thrace under Persian rule,"[18] and during Xerxes' campaign, the land up to Thessaly was subdued and paid tribute to the Persian king—initially under Megabazus and later under his successor, Mardonius.[19] Eventually, Abdera's entry into the Persian market soon allowed it to become not only a major trading partner for the Persians in the region but also a regional center for trade between East and West, including Italy. This status persisted through the second period of Abderite minting, which covered the first quarter of the 5th century BCE.[20]

The Teans' recognition of Timesios as *oikistes* should not be surprised as it is a common practice in the world of Greek colonization of the new settlers to recognize the historical *oikistes*. Abdera still continued to exist, and the new colonists took advantage of the long-standing tradition. Moreover, it is entirely possible that the new wave of settlers coordinated their actions with the metropolis of Clazomenae, located in close proximity to Teos. However, other similar examples show that, in a significant number of cases, the new colonists honored the cult of their own *oikistes*. This demonstrates a diversity in the veneration of *oikistes* cults, depending on the ambitions and claims of different groups within society—be they ethnic, economic, social, religious, or stemming from the elite. The world of the cities along the western coast of Asia Minor, to which Teos and Clazomenae belong, provides some of the most representative examples in this regard.[21] The decision of the Teans gains even greater significance considering the unpopularity of Timesius himself, who had been expelled from the community. Aelian mentions the envy exhibited by his fellow citizens, which ultimately led to the "*abandonment*" of the polis,[22] while Plutarch notes that "Timesius of Klazomenai was otherwise a good man in the service of the polis, but by doing everything himself he caused outrage and hatred." He received a similar treatment to that which Themistocles experienced from the Athenians saying "Why, my dear people, are you tired of receiving repeated benefits?"[23] Plutarch's passage clearly indicates that Timesius concentrated all power in his hands, which seems to have been unacceptable to the rest of the polis society of Abdera, leading to his expulsion from the community.

With the arrival of the Persians in the northern Aegean, however, and with at least part of the Abderite elite aspiring to play a significant role in the economic and political life of Persian-controlled northern Aegean, the veneration of an *oikistes* originating from

[15] On the Persian expansion on the Balkans, see Vasilev 2015.

[16] Hdt. 5.2.

[17] Boteva-Boyanova 2000, 42.

[18] Hdt. 5.10; Boteva-Boyanova 2000, 42–43.

[19] Hdt. 7.108.1: Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμποδὼν συστρατεύεσθαι ἠνάγκαζε: ἐδεδούλωτο γάρ, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, ἡ μέχρι Θεσσαλίης πᾶσα καὶ ἦν ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασμοφόρος, Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ ὕστερον Μαρδονίου.

[20] Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 43–52.

[21] See these examples discussed in Mac Sweeney 2013.

[22] Aelianus, *VH* 12.9–10.

[23] Plut., *Mor*. 812 A-B.

a participant in the anti-Persian revolt in Ionia such as Clazomenae would have left a bitter taste for Abderite society. Besides, the words of Strabo: Ἄβδηρα καλὴ Τηίων ἀποικίη (Strabo 14.1.30) implyies the existence of a substantional group in this very society that more or less linked the colony with the metropolis Teos rather than Clazomenae and its *oikistes*. This was a group that, for one reason or another, clearly did not wish for its identity to be associated with Clazomenae, but rather with Teos. Whether this involved the Teians themselves or their descendants in Abdera is unclear, but the existence of such a group also necessitated the presence of a cult dedicated to an *oikistes* that would meet their needs—a cult different from that of the exsiting Clazomenian Timesius.The absence of a preserved name of the leader of the Teian settlers in the literary sources clearly indicates that it most likely concerns the descendants of the Teians, or at least a group from the Abderite elite from a time when the memory of the leader of the Teian colonists had already been forgotten. In a situation like this, a solution may be found in the fabrication of the myth, and consequently the cult, of the mythical eponymous hero Abderos and by this in Abdera, as well as in other Greek colonies, more than one *oikistes* was honored, often a combination of historical and mythical figures, primarily eponymous ones.

All studies addressing the issues related to the myth of Abderos, in one form or another, inevitably begin with the poem known as the *Second Paean* by Pindar, which, for the moment, serves as the earliest testimony to it. The poem itself begins with an address to him:

> Ναΐδ]ος Θρονίας Ἄβδηρε χαλκοθώραξ
> Ποσ]ειδᾶνός τε παῖ (*Pa* 2.1-2)

In the subsequent historical section, the three wars of the colonists who settled on the extremely fertile land are traced, with the local population, including the Peonians and Thracians, being singled out. Initially, the colonists achieved victory, but later suffered a defeat, which they were only able to overcome with the help of the gods (lines 63–64), leading to the final victory at Melamphilos (lines 59–63).

It is clear that the *Second Paean* establishes the foundation of the myth to Abderos that would later be used in the cult dedicated to him. In the poem itself, which was performed by a chorus composed of the city's inhabitants, on the occasion of the annual celebration of the eponymous hero and mythical founder of the city,[24] he is presented as the son of Poseidon and the mermaid Thronia, thus making him an inseparable part of the Greek mythological cycle. As the son of Poseidon, Abderos is also associated with the Greek sea heroes, and from this connection, he is directly linked to Greek colonization. The emphasis on the authority of the oracle at Delphi as the main driving force behind the colonization (lines 96–106) legitimizes the founding of the colony by him.

It has also been suggested in the literature that the appearance of the *Second Paean* aimed at the formation of a new tradition related to the founding of Abdera, with the main goal of completely replacing the existing one. The reason for this lies in the accepted view that the colonization attempt by the Clazomenians, led by Timesius, was unsuccessful, followed by the re-foundation of Abdera by the Teians. In this way, the intention was to overshadow the cult of the historical *oikistes* Timesius.[25] It is possible that all of this is

[24] Dougherty 1994, 205, 214.

[25] Malkin 1987, 11, 56, 76, 131, 204, 208, 222.

indeed the case, but in this case, we can see the hand of Pindar, who, through these Paeans, manages to present the ideological foundation of the myth and cult of Abderos as an inseparable part of the Hellenic world, with all its requirements. Moreover, the eponymous hero is depicted as alive, and the Abderite society relies on him not only for a successful outcome of the military campaign against the local Thracian tribes,[26] which is still ongoing,[27] but also for the establishment of harmony within the society itself (lines 50–54):

]οι· τὸ δ᾽ εὐβου-
λίᾳ τε καὶ α[ἰδ]οῖ
ἐγκείμενο[ν] αἰεὶ θάλλει μαλακαῖς ε[ὐ]δίαι[ς·]
καὶ τὸ μὲν διδότω
θεός· [ὁ δ]᾽ ἐχθρὰ νοήσαις (*Pa* 2.50–54)

In my opinion, it is precisely in these lines that one of the main reasons for the creation of the myth of the eponymous hero Abderos can be found, namely—the unification of the apparently divided Abderite society.

In this poem, Abderos may indeed be presented as a Greek mythological hero connected with Greek colonization, but his role is more related to strengthening and consolidating the colonial society rather than to the actual act of colonization. This shows that the main idea of the *Second Paean* cannot be directly associated with the idea of Greek colonization as a whole, but rather pertains to a specific issue within Abderite society, the solution to which is the poem itself. And this was the inclusion of Abdera into the Delian league.[28] Therefore, the *Second Paeans* by Pindar outline the new specifics of a cult that had already been established, a cult that connects Abderos with the Greek world. The need for this suggests the existence of a cult and myth where this connection is not as clearly expressed.

The *stasis* implied by the *Second Paean*, the inclusion of the city in the Delian League which is ideologically justified by Pindar, and Abdera's "Persian" past, seem to be inseparably connected with the emergence and development of the myth and cult of the eponymous mythical hero Abderos.The need to emphasize the connection between Abderos and Greek colonization suggests that such a link had not been established prior to the writing of the *Paeans*, and in fact, the *Paeans* are the first to make this connection. So, one would wonder on the main features on the myth and cult to Abderos until their formulation in Pindar's *Second Paeans*.

In nearly all studies related to the early history of Abdera or the myth of Abderos, emphasis is placed on the possibility of a Phoenician origin for the name Abdera and, by extension, for its eponymous hero—Abderos. This thesis is based on the existence of another Abdera on the southern coast of Spain which is explicitly mentioned in written sources as a successor of a Phoenician settlement.[29] In these cases, it is suggested that

[26] The epithet with which he is called likely indicates his abilities as a military leader – χαλκοθώραξ, see Rutherford 2001, 264.

[27] Pindar, *Paen*. 2.104–106.

[28] Thus, according to Isaac (1986, 90–92), the *terminus ante quem* of the poem is 465 BCE, when the revolt of Thasos against Persian rule broke out, leading to Athenian expansion in the region and the incorporation of Abdera into the Delian League.

[29] Strab. 3.4.3: μετὰ ταύτην Ἄβδηρα Φοινίκων κτίσμα καὶ αὐτή.

the name of the city derives from the Phoenician word "'abd," which means "servant, lover of Melqart."[30]

If this is indeed the correct etymology, one might wonder about the possibility of earlier Phoenician colonization along the coast of Aegean Thrace, and even the establishment of a Phoenician *emporium* on the place of later Abdera.[31] Indeed, at present, there is a lack of clear evidence to support this claim,[32] but this hypothesis cannot be easily dismissed, especially given that Phoenician colonization in the region is unequivocally indicated by the example of neighboring Thasos, which is suggested to have initially been a Phoenician *emporium*.[33] There is even a hypothesis regarding the settlement of Thasian colonists at the site of what would later become Abdera.[34]

So, we may conclude that the fabrication of a new myth regarding the founding of the city, which took place prior to the creation of the *Second Paeans* by Pindar, serves the needs of Abderite society and a part of its elite in at least three different aspects.

First and foremost, it promotes a common origin with a segment of the population of the Persian Empire, particularly with the Phoenicians, whose fleet was utilized by the Persians during their military interventions. Emphasizing this origin, along with possibly existing similar traditions due to the actual lineage of the colonists, positions the Abderites not only as a unique but also as a desirable ally for the Persians in a region that was hostile to them.

Moreover, the city's mian rival in the region was neighboring Thasos, which is presumed to be a successor of a Phoenician emporium with traces of this legacy were likely better preserved by the time Herodotus wrote his accounts. Thus, during his visit to Tyre in Phoenicia, he mentioned a temple of Heracles that was referred to as the "Thasian" and another temple of Heracles on Thasos, founded by Phoenicians.[35] In this sense, the connections between Phoenicia and Thasos, and consequently between the Persian Empire and Thasos, would have been more apparent to the ancients.

Secondly, the myth of the mythical eponymous founder Abderos allows that segment of Abderite society, which disagrees with the official myth and cult of the historical *oikistes* Timeseus, to venerate their own *oikistes*. Given that it is impossible for this to be the historical leader of the refugees from Teos, the mythical eponymous hero emerges as the only viable option at this stage in the life of the colony. By creating his myth, and likely a cult, the society not only maintains cohesion but, in fact, strengthens it.

With its predominantly neutral status, the myth and cult of the mythical eponym serve to unify the ethnically, socially, culturally, and perhaps even religiously diverse community.

[30] Isaak 1986, 76; Graham 1992, 44–45; Rabadjiev 2007, 509.

[31] Isaak 1986, 76; Chryssanthaki 2001, 386.

[32] Isaak 1986, 76.

[33] Hdt. 2. 44.3-4; 6. 47.1-2; Muller-Dufeu 2016, 237–265.

[34] Isaac 1986, 79.

[35] Hdt. 2. 44.3-4: εἶδον δὲ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ καὶ ἄλλο ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντος Θασίου εἶναι: [4] ἀπικόμην δὲ καὶ ἐς Θάσον, ἐν τῇ εὗρον ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἱδρυμένον, οἳ κατ᾽ Εὐρώπης ζήτησιν ἐκπλώσαντες Θάσον ἔκτισαν; 6. 47.1-2: εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μέταλλα ταῦτα, καὶ μακρῷ ἦν αὐτῶν θωμασιώτατα τὰ οἱ Φοίνικες ἀνεῦρον οἱ μετὰ Θάσου κτίσαντες τὴν νῆσον ταύτην, ἥτις νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θάσου τούτου τοῦ Φοίνικος τὸ οὔνομα ἔσχε. [2] τὰ δὲ μέταλλα τὰ Φοινικικὰ ταῦτα ἐστὶ τῆς Θάσου μεταξὺ Αἰνύρων τε χώρου καλεομένου καὶ Κοινύρων, ἀντίον δὲ Σαμοθρηίκης.

The fabricated cult of this new *oikistes* could be embraced by all groups within Abderite society, including their Persian allies and administrators.

And thirdly, the new myth and cult provide an opportunity for certain segments of the Abderite elite to express their claims and ambitions both in domestic and foreign policy. The eighth labor of Heracles unveils the potential for integrating local mythology into the broader pan-Hellenic tradition.

The end of Persian presence in the northern Aegean led to a significant change in the political life of the Abderites, which was reflected in the myth of the eponymous hero. The inclusion of the city in the Delian League and in Hellenistic *koine* as a whole led to the need for the creation of a new Abderos, a Hellenistic one, who would meet the requirements of the Greek *oikistes*. It is precisely he who is portrayed in Pindar's *Second Paean*, where, although through fictional historical events, especially those against the local Thracian tribes.

The Greek-Thracian military actions[36] and the Greek colonization of Thrace[37] provided that context witnin which the connection between Abderos and Heracles might be considered. It is about the inclusion of Abderos into the cycle of Heracles' labors, and espcecially into the Eight labor. Indeed, there is a lacuna in the text of the Pindar's poem, but based on analogies with other paeans and the use of *χαλκοθώραξ* both in the legend itself and in the depiction of Abderos,[38] it is suggested that the missing lines 6–22 likely present the connection between Abderos and Heracles.[39] This is further supported by the fact that Pindar was familiar with the legend of Diomedes and his horses.[40] Although at the moment, this connection it is first to be found in the work of Hellanicus,[41] its earlier date should not to be excluded.[42] The reasons for this are based more on logical deductions than on existing written sources.

It is a fact that this connection is, for now, first found in the work of Hellanicus. However, it is also a fact that Pindar spent a certain period in Abdera, during or after which he composed the *Second Paean*. While being there, he likely had the opportunity to gain firsthand insight into the demands of the Abderite elite, or at least a part of it, regarding the creation of a new ideological foundation for the cult of the eponymous mythical founder. This foundation would align with the new political realities and Abdera's inclusion in the Hellenic rather than the Persian world. Thus, the presented military actions against the Thracians, their intensity and ferocity, and the sanctions from the oracle at Delphi are all devices aimed at legitimizing, in the eyes of contemporaries, the founding of Abdera as one of the Hellenic colonies. In this way, Abdera could be fully integrated into the broader framework of Greek colonization.

[36] Dougherty 1994, 209, 214.

[37] Rabadjiev 2001, 9.

[38] Dougherty 1994, 209, n. 21.

[39] See Dougherty 1994, 209 for the connection in this poem, along with the skepticism noted there from other authors.

[40] Pindar, *frg*. 169, 9–46 (Snell/Maehler).

[41] Raven 1967, 293–294.

[42] For the absence of a connection between Heracles and Abderos until the time of Hellanicus, see Rutherford 2001, 265, versus the assumption of Radt 1958.

With the retreat of the Persians, however, Abdera not only had to join the Delian League but also lost its preeminent position to Thasos. The incorporation of the founding of Thasos into the Heracles' cycle was an expression of the ideological supremacy of Thasos during that period. For the Abderite elite to reassert their claims, it was necessary not only to "Hellenize" the eponymous Abderos but also to secure his place within the Heracles cycle. This was clear to the Abderite elite, but it was also evident to Pindar. In this sense, it is entirely logical to assume that Pindar was the one who initially established this connection, which would later find its place in the local version of Heracles' Eighth Labor. His physical presence in Abdera at the time, and the subsequent emergence of this connection, can hardly be considered a coincidence. This is especially true given that, unlike Hellanicus, Pindar may have directly heard the demands of the Abderite elite firsthand. Besides, it is well known that Pindar himself was fascinated with Heracles and the task assigned to him, which is linked to the formation of the myth of Abderos.

As mentioned, the earliest known so far evidence for the incorpotration of Abderos into the Eight labor of Heracles is Hellanicus:

> Ἄβδηρα, πόλεις δύο ἡ μὲν θρᾴκης ἀπὸ Ἀβδήρου τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἠρίμου, Ἡρακλέους ἐρωμένου, ὃν αἱ Διομήδους ἵπποι διεσπάσαντο, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος καὶ ἄλλοι φασίν. (Hellanicus fr. 105 ap. Stephanus s.v.)

It is generally accepted that this passage reveals the founding of Abdera by Abderos who was a companion of Heracles in hero's eight labor and who met his death during it.[43] In this case we cannot expect the dissemination of the scheme—death of the beloved, subsequent grief, and the founding of a city around his tomb, which is characteristic of Heracles as noted by A. Pavlopoulou.[44] What is evident, however, is that Hellanicus' account introduces something missing in Pindar's poem: the institutionalization of the city by the Greek hero.[45] This detail can also be interpreted as an indirect indication of a non-Greek origin for the city. Based on coin emissions broadly dated to the 5th century BCE, it is assumed that a local version of Heracles' eighth labor involving Abderos was already in circulation.[46]

The death of Abderos at the hands of the man-eating mares of Diomedes may indeed carry an additional dimension. The act of humans being killed by horses, particularly in Thracian contexts, evokes parallels with another Thracian king—Lycurgus—whose myth is sometimes interpreted as a symbolic attempt to restore the fertility of the land.[47] In this framework, the death of Abderos could be understood as a necessary sacrifice aimed at reviving the scorched and devastated land, which had suffered from prolonged and violent conflicts between the colonists and the indigenous population, or by the natural calamity. This land eventually became the *chora* of Abdera and is described in the sources as χθόνα πολύδωρον (a richly-gifted land).[48] If this interpretation is valid, a developmental sequence for the myth of Abderos can be proposed: initially, Abderos is

[43] Rabadjiev 2001, 9.
[44] Pavlopoulou 1994, 128.
[45] Rabadjiev 2001, 11.
[46] Pavlopoulou 1994, 128.
[47] See Apollod. 3.5.1.
[48] Pindar, *Paen* 2.60.

killed by Diomedes' mares, symbolizing a sacrificial act to renew the land. This sacrificial act could, in a later stage of the myth's evolution, have been linked to the founding of Abdera by Heracles. This connection enriches the narrative, tying Abderos' death to both the revitalization of the land and the subsequent establishment of a city, with Heracles as the central figure institutionalizing the foundation myth.

The inclusion of Abderos in the myth of Heracles signifies not only the establishment and consolidation of the colony in Thracian lands but also reflects an ideological shift aligned with the evolving ambitions of the Abderite elite. This new myth, while providing continuity with earlier narratives such as Pindar's *Second Paeans*, also introduces elements that deviate from his version. The mention of Abderos as the son of Hermes rather than Poseidon signalizes the presence of a divergent tradition.[49] This shift is deeply symbolic, reflecting the changing priorities of the Abderite polis. The attribution of Hermes as Abderos' father aligns with a broader ideological framework that underscores commercial and economic aspirations, particularly the exploitation of the region's natural resources—either Pangaion, or the surrounding low mountain ranges, and/or Rhodope Mountains which suggests that the myth's transformation was driven by the city's ambitions to assert control over these resources. The redefinition of Abderos' lineage signals a shift in the city's ideological positioning. Moving away from a maritime deity like Poseidon and associating with Hermes emphasizes trade, negotiation, and territorial expansion rather than naval dominance, aligning more closely with the city's inland ambitions. The struggle depicted in the myth is no longer centered on mere survival, as portrayed in earlier accounts like Pindar's, but on territorial expansion and resource exploitation.

This ambition placed Abdera in direct competition with Thasos. The connection between Abderos and Heracles can thus be interpreted as a deliberate ideological response to Thasos' claim to Heraclean origins. By incorporating Abderos into the Eighth Labor of Heracles, the Abderite elite positioned their city as an ideological rival to Thasos, asserting equal legitimacy within the Heraclean mythological framework. Through this reframing, Abdera sought to elevate its stature within the Greek world, leveraging both mythological and material claims to strengthen its political and economic position in the northern Aegean.

After the inclusion of Abderos in the Eighth Labor of Heracles within a local variant, it was only a matter of time before envolvement of Heracles himself into the foundation of the city. This evolved into the version known from Apollodorus. This development is particularly plausible given that it employs a mythological framework that can also be observed in other instances:

> Ὄγδοον ἆθλον ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τὰς Διομήδους τοῦ Θρᾳκὸς ἵππους εἰς Μυκήνας κομίζειν· ἦν δὲ οὗτος Ἄρεος καὶ Κυρήνης, βασιλεὺς Βιστόνων ἔθνους Θρᾳκίου καὶ μαχιμωτάτου, εἶχε δὲ ἀνθρωποφάγους ἵππους. πλεύσας οὖν μετὰ τῶν ἑκουσίως συνεπομένων καὶ βιασάμενος τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς φάτναις τῶν ἵππων ὑπάρχοντας ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. τῶν δὲ Βιστόνων σὺν ὅπλοις ἐπιβοηθούντων τὰς μὲν ἵππους παρέδωκεν Ἀβδήρῳ φυλάσσειν· οὗτος δὲ ἦν Ἑρμοῦ παῖς, Λοκρὸς ἐξ Ὀποῦντος, Ἡρακλέους ἐρώμενος, ὃν αἱ ἵπποι διέφθειραν ἐπισπασάμεναι· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Βίστονας διαγωνισάμενος καὶ Διομήδην ἀποκτείνας τοὺς λοιποὺς ἠνάγκασε φεύγειν, καὶ κτίσας πόλιν Ἄβδηρα παρὰ τὸν τάφον τοῦ διαφθαρεντος Ἀβδήρου, τὰς ἵππους κομίσας Εὐρυσθεῖ ἔδωκε. μεθέντος δὲ αὐτὰς Εὐρυσθέως,

[49] The clearly expressed animosity between Heracles and Poseidon is highly likely to underpin the reassignment of Abderos' paternity.

εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον ὄρος Ὄλυμπον ἐλθοῦσαι πρὸς τῶν θηρίων ἀπώλοντο. (Ps. Apollodorus, The Library, II. V. 8)

In this case, Apollodorus provides the fullest version of the Heracles' Eighth Labor. To what extent he can be called an "investigator" is unclear,[50] but what is certain is that in his mythographical compendium,[51] he conscientiously used the sources available to him,[52] primarily from the 5th century BCE,[53] and in some cases, secondary sources as well.[54] Of particular interest is the passage which clarifies Abderos' origin as coming from Opus in Locris. The version itself was based upon the existing tradition upon which the very Labor of Heracles was constructed: the death of the lover, followed by mourning, and the founding of a city around his grave—a theme extremely characteristic of Heracles.[55] This pattern is evident even in the story of the theft of Geryon's cattle, where Heracles kills his beloved Croton, and in his memory, orders his grave to be placed at the center of a city bearing his name. The same schema is also found in the myth of the eponymous hero of the city of Locris, Locros.[56]

It is possible that Apollodorus added reminiscences of the latter myth into the myth of Abderos.

All of these observations serve as arguments for the thesis that the connection between Heracles and Abderos can be seen as a logical continuation of the idea established in Pindar's *Second Paean* regarding the Greek colonization of the region and the foundation of Abdera as a consequence of it, within the context of a prolonged conflict with the local Thracian population.[57] This also outlines the politically motivated decision to create the new local version of Heracles' Eighth Labor.[58]

There exists another possibility, although at this stage it seems somewhat unlikely to me. It is known that Hellanicus resided at the court of the Macedonian ruler,[59] which makes it possible that he either visited Abdera itself or encountered its citizens. It is conceivable that they shared with him the local version of the myth, which may still have been transmitted orally at that time.

Despite the clear connection between the Macedonian royal dynasty and Heracles, it still seems premature to seek a direct link between this dynasty and Abdera in this context. Such a connection might become relevant later, particularly in relation to the account of the city's founding by Heracles himself, as mentioned by Apollodorus.

In the subsequent centuries, the core of the myth of Abderos remained intact, but local variations emerged that were significant in reflecting changes in societal attitudes

[50] See recently in Carrière – Mossonie 1991, 12–15.

[51] See the most recent published in Papathomopoulos 2010, but, as it seems, certain corrections and additions should be made to this edition as well Kenens 2013, 95–114.

[52] Kenens 2013, 95–96.

[53] Most recently Dräger 2005, 854–886; see also Trzaskoma 2013, 76–77.

[54] Cameron 2004, 93–104.

[55] Pavlopoulou 1994, 128.

[56] Diod. IV.24.7; Iambos, *Pythagoras's life* IX 50; Konon, *FGrHist*. 26.c.3; Pavlopoulou 1994, 128.

[57] See also Pavlopoulou 1994, 130–131.

[58] It is assumed that the establishment of the myth of Heracles and Diomedes occurred during the period between the two foundations of Abdera – that of the Clazomenians and the Teosians: Rabadjiev 2007, 509.

[59] Suda, ε 739.

in Abdera. These changes primarily influenced the role of the Thracians within the myth, manifesting in several aspects, and in some cases, entirely new variations and myths were created. In certain instances, there was even a tendency towards the "Thracianization" of the city's founding itself.

The suggestion of a possible Thracian origin for a portion of the population of Abdera—and consequently for part of its elite—appears for the first time in Strabo.[60] Whether he is presenting the results of an already completed process or merely hinting at one still in progress remains unclear for now. What is evident, however, is that this tradition evolves and is uniquely portrayed in the work of Pomponius Mela:

> Regio ulterior Diomeden tulit, inmanibus equis mandendos solitum obiectare advenas et iisdem ab Hercule obiectum. Turris quam Diomedis vocant signum fabulae remanet, et urbs quam soror eius suo nomine nominavit Abdere; sed ea magis id memorandum habet, quod Democritum physicum tulit, quam quod ita condita est. (2.29)

This passage is often cited in the literature as controversial, but in my view, it should not be underestimated, and the data it presents must be taken into consideration. The information that Abdera was named after the sister of King Diomedes, in my opinion, is unlikely to have been invented by the Roman geographer from the late 1st century BCE to the first half of the 1st century CE. Furthermore, the explicit mention of a clearly defined topos, such as the "Tower of Diomedes," suggests the use of local folklore, previously unknown. This places Pomponius Mela's account in a different context, one that can illuminate the significance of the connection between Diomedes' sister and the city of Abdera.

The use of local folklore, combined with the "Thracianization" of the myth of the eponymous Founder of the city, as also seen in Strabo, allows to distinctly trace in Pomponius Mela's account the so-called *constructivism* in the myth of the city's Founder. This aspect has so far escaped the attention of scholars. In this case, it can be identified *per excellence* in the study of the development of ideology and the politicization of the Founder's myth in Thrace. This reflects the aspirations of a segment of Abdera's society seeking to emphasize their Thracian origin or connection with Thrace. Certainly, the simplest approach is to turn to the city's past, as observed in other similar cases in cities across Asia Minor. What stands out, however, is that this "Thracian" elite employs a toolkit characteristic of Greek elites from Asia Minor in this context. The reasons for this "Thracianization" remain unclear and are a subject of speculation.

However, it seems that Pomponius Mela approaches this account with some reservation, or at least he was aware of opposition to this myth, prompting him to steer the reader's attention in a different direction in the final sentence.

The written sources allow to trace the continuation of this Thracian tradition in the myth of the Founder of Abdera in the centuries that followed, as evidenced by the account of Solinus:

> Inde non procul urbs Abdera, quam Diomedis soror et condidit et a se sic uocauit, mox Democriti domus physici ac si uerum rimere, ideo nobilior. Hanc Abderam olympiade prima et tricesima senio conlapsam Clazomenii ex Asia ad maiorem faciem restitutam oblitteratis quae praecesserant nomini suo uindicauerunt. (Solin. Collectanea rerum memorabilium 10.10) (ed. Mommsen, Berlin 1864)

[60] Strabo 7, *frgs*. 43–44.

The data from this passage have not been taken seriously in the literature and, for this reason, still await detailed commentary.[61] At first glance, the account does appear historically unreliable; however, dismissing the source outright is unwarranted. For instance, the 31st Olympiad, which Solinus associates with the arrival of the Klazomenians under Timesius, closely aligns with another source currently regarded as the most reliable for the founding of Abdera, namely Eusebius. According to Eusebius, Abdera was founded around 654 BCE[62] or between 656–652 BCE.[63] The 31st Olympiad, in turn, likely occurred in 656 BCE. This alignment suggests that both may have drawn upon the same source.

Whether Solinus relied on Pomponius Mela to establish the connection between the founding of the city and the eponymous daughter of Diomedes remains unclear but highly plausible.

The myth and cult of Abderos are revealed in two main aspects: the "founding" of the city on one hand, and, on the other, his role in the subsequent cohesion of the polis collective and its continued existence. While the latter is characteristic of this type of hero,[64] the accumulation of several distinct traditions around the foundation of Abdera and Abderos—each influenced by the specific political context of the polis—leads to the creation of an amalgam of different facets of the hero's life as the founder of the city, unified in the figure of Abderos.

In this way, significant contradictions within the different versions of the myth of Abderos can be explained. These contradictions serve as compelling evidence of the *constructivism* inherent in this type of mythology. The creation of such traditions results directly from the needs of the polis collective or a segment of it, which expresses its ambitions, desires, needs, and identity through these myths.

One such transformation is tied to the death of Abderos during Heracles' labor and the development of the narrative that he was not, in fact, the *oikistes* (founder) of Abdera but rather Heracles. This indicates the enduring desire of a part of the city's elite to radically alter the foundational myth to integrate Abdera and its elite more closely into the fabric of mainland Greek culture. To achieve this, the role of the eponymous hero is diminished or ignored, along with the aspirations placed upon him during the colony's early history, leading to the creation of a new myth.

It is worth noting that despite the establishment of this new narrative—centered around one of the labors of Heracles, a prominent figure in Greek mythology—the old, traditional myth persisted in some form, often transformed almost beyond recognition but retained the core idea that Heracles was not, in fact, the founder of Abdera.

The written sources allow to trace at least two main myths about Abderos, one of which has its own variants, and each follows a particular tradition and ideological significance. On one hand, there is the myth in which the eponymous hero and mythical founder of the city also serves as its protector and unifier of society, responsible for its *harmony*. This myth is of particular importance to the Abderite society and is primarily intended for internal use, mostly within the polis community. It is not coincidental that

[61] See, for example, the lack of commentary in Graham 1992, 46.

[62] Graham 1992, 46.

[63] Tiverios 2008, 91.

[64] Pavlopoulou 1994, 115.

the sources concerning this myth originate from materials that are closely connected to Abdera itself and the specifics of its internal political life.

The other myth about Abderos, related to Heracles' Eighth Labor, differs in its ideological charge. This myth not only associates the eponymous hero and mythical founder of Abdera with the Greek heroic epic but also largely reflects the ambitions of the Abderite elite, or at least part of it. Through this myth, the elite fully integrated into the pan-Hellenic cultural and political sphere, and we could even speculate that it asserted its claims for a prominent political role in the northern Aegean region. This is especially plausible since, by the second half of the 5th century BCE, the city not only managed to recover from its initial struggles and establish itself but also became a major political and economic force in the region. Whether Abdera used this myth to assert a more significant role in the broader Greek political landscape remains unclear, but it seems unlikely given the close ties the city later established with the powerful Odrysian kingdom. It is important to note that both myths coexisted, which does not appear to have troubled the Abderites, alongside the cult of the city's historical founder, Timesius. Their simultaneous existence clearly indicates their specificity and different ideological implications, even though they concern the same figure.

It is logical to expect that, given the political development of the city and its elite, as well as the objectives set by them during different periods of its existence, the myth of Abderos would undergo certain changes. This is particularly evident in the case of the eighth labor of Heracles, while the other, more domestic version of the myth remains relatively stable over the centuries, preserving the main characteristics of the hero. The fundamental change observed in the first version is related to the shifting role of the Thracians, whose relationship with the city fluctuated over the centuries, initially marked by extreme hostility, eventually evolving into the founding of the city by them. Unfortunately, the sources do not allow us to trace exactly when this change began, with the earliest clues currently being fragments from Strabo, referring to the city's population as "the Bistone Thracians" (Βίστονες Θρᾷκες), which eventually leads to the accounts of Pomponius Mela and Solinus, marking this as a completed stage.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 135–144
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.010.21400
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Iphicrates, (Re)foundation of Drys, and Athenian Activity in the Northern Aegean in the 4TH Century BC

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Abstract

This paper elaborates on a curious episode in the career of Iphicrates—famous Athenian *strategos* and mercenary commander in the first half of the 4th century B.C. According to Theopompus [FGrH 115 F 161], Iphicrates was somehow involved in a settlement of the Thracian town of Drys. His presence there is also corroborated by a testimony of Demosthenes [XXIII 131–132], but the rhetor does not precise what Iphicrates' exactly did there. Both sources mentioned above, as well as several others, will be re-examined in this article, eventually leading to a proposal of a different interpretation of Theopompus account and the entire historical episode. Namely, the article suggests that the relevant fragment of Hellenica should be understood as a reference to the reconstruction program of Drys conducted or at least initiated by Iphicrates. The town had presumably suffered some downfall before, which could have been a result of an engagement between Spartans and Athenians, as described by Polyaenus. This event is often placed by modern scholars around the year 375 B.C., although this article opts for an earlier period, one contemporary with the Corinthian War. This way, Iphicrates could have been involved in the re-settlement of the town in the second half of 380s, after he has married a princess of Seuthes' family. Furthermore, it is suggested that the title of Anaxandrides' fragmentarily preserved comedy "Protesilaos" was considered by the author to be a reference to Iphicrates and his activities in Thrace.

Keywords: Iphicrates, Drys, Thrace, Seuthes II, Cotys I, Athens, Theopompus, Demosthenes, Anaxandrides, Protesilaos.

Usually, Athens is not associated with *poleis* that were particularly active in the founding of new colonies, especially in the 4th century BC.[1] Despite this, a number of sources

[1] Aside from kleruchies (which consist of very distinct and separate form of settlement), we possess information only about one Athenian *apoikia* in that period. That is, of course, Adriatic foundation in the Adriatic area, around 325 BC. See Cargill 1995, 9–34.

mention Athenian commanders who participated in the establishment of various settlements during that period. The problem seems to be an interesting one, but the available resources are very enigmatic. It remains unclear what factors were driving this activity and whether Athenian home authorities exerted some control over it.

One of the cases concerns Iphicrates—probably the most famous of the Athenian *strategoi* of that period. Unfortunately, the available source material is very scant and does not provide information about the timing of his establishment. It is necessary, then, to sketch the commander's career in order to place his activity in proper context.[2] Iphicrates' military debut occurred during the Corinthian War, when he distinguished himself for bravery as a simple soldier in the sea battle, probably at Cnidus in 394 BC. With the protection of Conon, the commander-in-chief of the Persian and Cypriote fleet, he assumed command of a corps of Athenian mercenaries (*xenikon*) at Corinth. Iphicrates achieved several successes there, mostly due to his skillful use of light-armed peltasts. His victory over the Spartan mora in the Battle of Lechaeum earned him fame not only in Athens but throughout Greece. After being recalled from Corinth, he fought in the Hellespontine area, where he defeated the harmost Anaxibos near Abydos. Following the King's Peace, the commander entered the service of the Thracian rulers Seuthes II and later his son Cotys I.[3] He helped them consolidate their power over the Odrysian tribe (and several others). Iphicrates married a princess from the Cotys family (his sister or daughter, with the former being more likely).[4] Around the same time, he established contact with Amyntas III of Macedon, was adopted by him, and effectively became the brother of the later Filip II.

Later, in 379, Iphicrates assumed command of the Persian army, preparing it for an attack on the revolted Egypt. After a disagreement with his superior, Pharnabazus, he returned to his homeland, where he served as *strategos* during the Boeotian War (since 373). Around 370, we can place the so-called reform of Iphicrates.[5] In the early 360s, he was tasked with capturing Amphipolis. During this time, he assisted Eurydice of Macedon in dealing with the attack by the usurper Pausanias. After campaigning for about four years without significant success, Iphicrates was replaced by Timotheos as *strategos* in the Amphipolis area. Later, he went to Cotys, whose relationship with Athens had begun to complicate. After the outbreak of open war (363/2), Iphicrates abandoned the ruler.[6] In Athens, he appears as *strategos* only during the Social War. Following the incident at Embata (356), Iphicrates was officially accused (along with Timotheos and his own son, Menestheos) but was acquitted. This was most likely the last episode in his long military career. He is said to have died at an old age.

[2] On the Iphicrates' career, see Rehdantz 1845; Kahrstedt 1899; Pritchett 1974, 62–72, 117–125; Lengauer 1979, 110–118; Bianco 1997; Bettali 2013, 91–93; Duszyński 2021.

[3] About the relation between Seuthes and Cotys, see Höck 1891, 89; 116. His findings were later accepted by most scholars, e.g., May 1950, 185, Danov 1976; Archibald 1998, 218–219; Zahrnt 2015, 44.

[4] Bianco 1997, 187 with note 29; Bettali 2013, 373.

[5] The discussion about "the reform of Iphicrates" is summarised by Konijnendijk 2014. According to the most popular view, the reform was a short-lived experiment made during Iphicrates' service in the Persian Empire, see Anderson 1970, 129–131; Stylianou 1998, 343. Other dating is given by Duszyński 2021, 106–111.

[6] Kallet 1983, 247–248; Harris 1989, 266; Bianco 1997, 199–200; Heskel 1997, 89–92; Trundle 2001, 150–151; Sears 2013, 134–136.

The lexicon of Harpocration provides some information about Iphicrates' activity as a colonist. The text states that Theopompus of Chios wrote about the settling of Drys in Thrace by the commander in the 26th book of Hellenica.[7] The preserved fragments of this part suggest that the main narrative concerned the Third Sacred War and the negotiations for the Peace of Philocrates, as well as Philip's movements against the Thracian ruler Kersobleptes.[8] Since Iphicrates was no longer militarily and politically active at that time, the remark about him must have been a digression, a type that Theopompus was known for.[9] The specific context of this remark is unknown. Harpocration's brief note serves as a commentary on Demosthenes' speech *Against the Aristocrates*. In this speech, the rhetor mentions that Iphicrates abandoned Cotys and went to Antissa (on Lesbos) and later to Drys. This happened when the Thracian ruler attacked Athenian territories in the Hellespontine area.[10] However, Demosthenes remains silent about the establishment of Drys by Iphicrates.

There remains only very little information about Drys itself. The epigraphical material provides most of what we know. The name appears on the Athenian tribute list as *Drys para Serreion*.[11] Its contributions are listed at the level of a single talent, suggesting considerable economic importance. Another inscription from Delphi, dated to the late 4th century, contains the *ethnicon* Dryitai.[12] The most interesting document is a stele found at Sapri Dare (near modern Makri), which contains a shortened copy of a decree granting citizenship and several privileges to a certain Polyaratus, son of Histiaios. He is exempt from customs and has the right to use a port (indicating that Drys must have had one). Also significant is the presence of the formula: ἐψεφῖσθαι Δρυΐταις, which attests to the settlement's status as a *polis*.[13] This inscription is dated to the late 4th century BC or early 3rd century BC.

We can situate Drys on the Thracian coast, between Ainos and Maroneia.[14] An important topographical factor was its proximity to a significant land route that went up to Byzantium and linked two continents. During the Roman period, the Via Egnatia ran through this area. Agesilaos, returning from Asia Minor in 394, followed a similar route, as did Xerxes during his great expedition against Greece.[15] Interestingly, Herodotus describes the Persian itinerary in considerable detail but does not mention Drys among the local towns, suggesting that the settlement had relatively low importance. In general, references to

[7] Harp. s.v. Δρῦς (= *FGrHist* 115 F161): Δημοσθένης κατ᾽ Ἀριστοκράτους. πόλις ἐν Ἠπείρῳ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα ἐν Θρᾴκῃ, ἧς νῦν ὁ ῥήτωρ μνημονεύει: ταύτην Θεόπομπος ἐν κς φησὶν ὑπὸ Ἰφικράτους κατοικισθῆναι.

[8] Shrimpton 1991, 61.

[9] Pedech 1989, 68; Shrimpton 1991, 90–93; Flower 1994, 29.

[10] Dem. XXIII, 131–132: ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ὁ Κότυς, ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου σωθεὶς καὶ λαβὼν ἔργῳ τῆς ἐκείνου φιλίας πεῖραν, ἐπειδὴ βεβαίως ἠγήσατο σῶς εἶναι, οὐχ ὅπως ἀποδώσει χάριν ἐσπούδασεν αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς δι᾽ ἐκείνου τι φιλάνθρωπον ἔπραξεν, ἵνα συγγνώμης ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις τύχῃ, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοὐναντίον ἠξίου μὲν αὐτὸν συμπολιορκεῖν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων χωρίων, οὐκ ἐθέλοντος δ᾽ ἐκείνου, λαβὼν αὐτὸς τήν τε βαρβαρικὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ὑπ᾽ἐκείνου συνειλεγμένην, καὶ τὸν Χαρίδημον τοῦτον προσμισθωσάμενος, **προσέβαλλε τοῖς ὑμετέροις χωρίοις, καὶ εἰς τοῦτο κατέστησε τὸν Ἰφικράτην ἀπορίας, ὥστ᾽ ἀπελθόντ᾽ εἰς Ἄντισσαν οἰκεῖν καὶ πάλιν εἰς Δρῦν**, […]

[11] IG I^3 77. V, *ll*. 29–30.

[12] F. Delphes III 1497, *l.* 5. See Robert 1940, 80–82; Isaac 1986, 129.

[13] SEG 55.780bis.

[14] Danov 1976, 125; Loukopoulu 2004, 878; Archibald 2010, 162.

[15] Hdt. VII, 108–109; Xen. *Hell*. IV, 2.8.

Drys in ancient and Byzantine literature are very rare. Stephanus (who quotes Hekataios) and the Liber Suda simply state that it was a *polis* in Thrace.[16] Pseudo-Scyllax (a source from the late 4th century B.C.) describes the place as an *emporion*.[17]

Polyaenus, in his collection of *Strategemata*, links the name of another Athenian commander, Chabrias, with Drys. He describes a situation in which the Spartiate Ischolaos was besieged there by Chabrias' forces.[18] The Lacedaemonian ordered the city walls to be destroyed to demonstrate his determination. In this situation, Chabrias refrained from consecutive attacks. Unfortunately, the context does not allow for precise dating of the incident. The Spartan is also known for his heroic death in the Peloponnese in 369, as described by Xenophon.[19] Based on this, the confrontation with Chabrias is usually placed a little earlier, around 375. Diodorus (and several other sources) states that at that time, the Athenian aided Abdera, which was attacked by the Thracian Tryballoi.[20] The encounter with Ischolaos would thus have happened during the same campaign. This dating has been accepted by Karl Rehdantz, who assumed that Iphicrates must have founded Drys earlier (during his first stay in Thrace), so that Chabrias could later have besieged Ischolaos there.[21] Rehdantz accepted the testimony of Harpocration and was followed by others. However, the German scholar was unaware of inscriptions that attest to the earlier existence of Drys.

Available sources show that Drys existed before the period of Iphicrates' career. This raises the question of whether we should reject the testimony of Harpocration. The lexicographer may have misunderstood Theopompus's words, which perhaps referred simply to the fact that Iphicrates lived in Drys. In fact, Demosthenes does not mention anything about the commander establishing any form of settlement there. However, Harpocration's words can also be interpreted as referring not to a foundation "ex nihilo," but rather to the rebuilding or resettlement of the town.[22]

The status of Drys is not entirely clear. The inscriptions mentioned above definitely support its status as a *polis*, but Herodotus remains silent about the place, and Pseudo-Scyllax classifies it as an *emporion*. Of course, we must consider that our sources come from different periods and may reflect changes in the town's status. Our sources suggest that the town experienced a period of prosperity in the second half of the 5th century. Later, Drys might have suffered a decline, allowing Pseudo-Scyllax to classify it as an *emporion*, even if it was still technically a *polis*, as the inscription of Sapri Dare demonstrates. This decline could have been caused by military conflicts, and the testimony of Polyaenus indeed hints at at least partial destruction of Drys. Perhaps the actions of Ischolaos should be understood in a way slightly different from the explanation given by the ancient author. The tearing down of the walls may have been calculated as a method to make the place an unprofitable prize for the Athenians. This action was successful because the opponents left. Drys was situated in a rather dangerous area, so the decline could have been a natural outcome of leaving it damaged and without defenses.

[16] Steph. Byz., s.v. Δρῦς; Suid., s.v. Δρῦς.

[17] Ps.-Scyll. 67.

[18] Polyaen. II, 22.3.

[19] Xen. *Hell*. VI, 24–26. See Poralla 1913, 69–70.

[20] Diod. XV, 36.4. See Stylianou 1998, 311–314.

[21] Rehdantz 1845, 29–30.

[22] LSJ, s.v. κατοικίζω.

Some time later, Iphicrates, who was involved in Thracian matters, made an attempt to rebuild the settlement, which caught the attention of Theopompus and Harpocration. Of course, the described hypothesis requires that the episode with Ischolaos be placed earlier. There are two possibilities. The first is to identify the settlement mentioned by Iphicrates with his presence in Drys, as noted by Demosthenes in *Against the Aristocrates*. In this case, the situation would have occurred some time after the outbreak of war between Cotys and Athens, which Julia Heskel tentatively dates to 361 BC.[23] The second option is that the settlement happened in the late 380s, during Iphicrates' first sojourn in Thrace. This would require dating the episode with Ischolaos in Drys much earlier, with the Corinthian War being the only plausible option.[24]

Such a solution seems reasonable due to the lack of information about Lacedaemonian activity in the Northern Aegean during the Boeotian War (when the incident is often placed). They did not attempt to block the supply of corn to Athens in the Hellespontine area.[25] In contrast, Lacedaemonian activity in the area of interest during the Corinthian War is attested by our sources. As mentioned, Xenophon claims that Agesilaus marched to Greece by the route previously taken by Xerxes' army, which means he was present around Drys. It is possible that he placed a garrison there. Chabrias, on his part, was active in Thrace around 390 when he participated in the campaign of Thrasybulus. According to Xenophon, two local rulers, Amadocus and Seuthes, who were feuding, reconciled and became friends of Athens.[26] A single inscription (unfortunately very mutilated) documents some participation by Chabrias in the episode. He is said to have exchanged oaths on behalf of the Athenians.[27] On that occasion, the commander could have encountered Ischolaos. Of course, placing the siege of Drys in this manner extends the time span between the two episodes involving Ischolaos and consequently the duration of his military career. However, this is not impossible in classical Greece, considering the careers of Iphicrates, Chabrias, or Agesilaus.[28]

It appears that the earlier dating of Iphicrates' activity is more plausible. Although Demosthenes suggests a later date, his testimony does not exclude the earlier presence of the commander in Drys. For the present analysis, other aspects of Iphicrates' biography are important, especially his marriage to Cotys' sister. We know that their son, Menestheos, was a *strategos* during the Social War. Based on age estimates, he should have been born in the early 80s at the latest. Thus, his parents were probably married around that time, which corresponds well with Iphicrates' first period of involvement in Thrace. We can speculate whether his father-in-law gifted him land in Drys on this occasion. Notably, Seuthes had previously made a similar offer to Xenophon. The author mentions in *Anabasis* that Xenophon could have received the hand of the ruler's daughter and the town of Bisanthe.[29] A decade later, other Greek commanders could expect similar pro-

[23] Heskel 1997, 90–92, 151–152. See also Isaac 1986, 129; Buckler 2003, 273–274.

[24] Poralla (1913, 70) notes that both options (Corinthian and Boeotian Wars) are equally possible. Early dating was proposed by Parke (1933, 56).

[25] Buckler 2003, 245–250; Duszyński 2016, 71–74.

[26] Xen. *Hell*. IV, 8.26. Cf. Diod. XIV, 94.2. About the campaign of Thrasybulus, see Buckler 2003, 157–162.

[27] IG II^2 21. See Höck 1891, 88–89; Archibald 1998, 124.

[28] See e.g., Parke 1933, 58–60, 81–82, 111–112; Pritchett 1974, 72–77, 89–90; Bettali 2013, 91–100, 165–169.

[29] Xen., *Anab*. VII, 2.38.

posals, as shown by Lysias' testimony. In his speech *Against Ergocles*, Lysias notes that Thrasybulus was advised to marry Seuthes' daughter.[30] This situation reportedly occurred during the general's last campaign (around 389), just a few years before Iphicrates' sojourn in Thrace. While we cannot be certain if Lysias' statements (made to accuse Ergocles and Thrasybulus) were accurate, there is no reason to doubt the political context described by the author. It is apparent that the Thracian ruler was quite eager to offer his daughter to some Greek (preferably Athenian) commander.

Iphicrates' marriage caused some controversy in Athens. Anaxandrides mocked his wedding in the fragmentarily preserved comedy *Protesilaos*.[31] This mythical hero is commonly associated with the Trojan War as the first Greek to land (and die in combat) on the Asian shore. Protesilaos received veneration in Elaious on the Thracian Chersonese, where his tomb was said to be. According to an alternative tradition, the hero survived the war and later founded Scione on the Chalkidyce peninsula.[32] We can observe some similarities (Thrace, North Aegean, establishment of a settlement) between particular episodes of Iphicrates' career and narratives about Protesilaos. Moreover, the hero was said to come from Thessaly, another region where Iphicrates probably had some contacts.[33] Anaxandrides may have chosen to name his comedy after the hero as a reference to Iphicrates and specific, relatively recent episodes from his life, including the rebuilding of Drys.[34]

Drys was a place of considerable economic importance. The Athenian tributary lists support this conclusion. The *phoros* assessment of one talent *per annum* was among the highest in the Northern Aegean area. Several factors may have contributed to the town's prominent status. We have observed that Drys was situated near an important land route and possessed a seaport, as indicated by the decree for Polyaratus. The site was also associated in antiquity with lush oak forests.[35] Furthermore, Zofia Archibald's work indicates that intensive metallurgical activity occurred in the area, which could have played a significant role in the local economy.[36] Iphicrates' decision to resettle the place appears to have been well calculated. It is difficult to imagine him proceeding without some agreement with local rulers. The marriage to Seuthes' daughter seems to have created the right conditions for this. Initially, Iphicrates may have acted on behalf of the ruler or his son, Cotys. Aristotle describes Iphicrates as advising Cotys on increasing his income.[37] Perhaps the resettlement of Drys was also intended to improve the financial standing of the Athenian's new family relatives. The situation after the King's Peace was favorable for "finding" settlers due to the large number of demobilized mercenaries. An interesting analogy can be found with Xenophon, who mentions his own plans to establish a *polis* with the soldiers of the Ten Thousand.[38] Iphicrates may have acted in the name of Cotys and was

[30] Lys. XXVIII, 5–6. The similarity between cases of Trasybulus and Iphicrates is stressed by Bianco 1997, 187.

[31] Athen. IV, 131 (= Anaxandrides, frg. 42 K-A).

[32] Hill 1926, 23–24; Grimal 1987, 305; Millis 2015, 194.

[33] Polyaenus (III, 9.40.) describes meeting of the Athenian commander with Jason of Pherae, see Sprawski 1999, 82–83.

[34] About the possible political subtext of Anaxandrides' play, see Millis 2015, 195.

[35] Danov 1976, 125.

[36] Archibald 2010, 164–165.

[37] Arist. *Oec*. II, 1351a.

[38] Xen. *Anab*. V, 7. 7–9.

later granted some privileges there, such as the right to use the place for his own maintenance. Such practices were not uncommon in the Mediterranean. For example, Themistocles was granted supplies by Xerxes, and much later, Phocion received a similar offer from Alexander of Macedon.[39]

Of course, the proposed interpretation of Iphicrates' actions remains a hypothesis, lacking direct support from concrete evidence in the sources. However, it appears to be a plausible one, especially when considered in a broader context. We know that few other Athenian commanders possessed their own foreign territories. Apart from Militiades the Elder in the remote 6th century, this was also true of the famous Alcibiades, who possessed several strongholds in Thrace.[40] According to Lysias, Thrasybulus, during his campaign of 390–389, received advice to take control of Byzantium and start an independent rule.[41] It is clear from the context that the objective was clearly to become independent of Athens' material and political support. Later, Callistratus of Aphidnae and Athenodorus of Imbros are credited with establishing colonies. In the latter case, no details are known. Isocrates, in his speech *On the Peace*, emphasizes that the mercenary commander was acting as a private person.[42] We are tempted to locate the whole episode in the 350s. In the former case, we know the name of the place (Datos) and the date of its establishment (around 360). This was after Callistratus was exiled from Athens. According to Zenobius, the rhetor managed to convince the Thasians to establish a new settlement in an area rich in ore.[43] Thus, he acted more as an initiator than as a political and military leader, as demonstrated by the German scholar.[44]

We can see that Iphicrates was not an isolated case of an Athenian general attempting to establish or take control of a city. Some of them clearly acted on their own and even considered establishing footholds as a means of security against their own compatriots. The question remains about Iphicrates' motives, which ties into a broader issue: whether he acted in Thrace on his own initiative or as an unofficial extension of Athenian policy. Some scholars postulate that after the conclusion of the King's Peace, Iphicrates stayed in the Northern Aegean out of fear of potential repressions by his own countrymen.[45] Indeed, other Athenian *strategoi* operating in the Hellespontine area during the war were prosecuted, but unlike them, Iphicrates was not present during the final confrontation and failure against Antalcidas. Polyaenus mentions that he was occupied with the siege of Chalcedon at that time.[46] Additionally, no source indicates that he decided not to return to Athens after the end of hostilities. We do not know the exact timeframes of his

[39] Thuc. I, 138 (Themistocles); Ael., *VH*, I.25 (Phocion—about Alexander's attitude towards him, see Tritle 1988, 118).

[40] Danov 1976, 326–328; Sears 2013, 96–97.

[41] Lys. XXVIII, 6.

[42] Isocr. VIII, 24: ὅπου γὰρ Ἀθηνόδωρος καὶ Καλλίστρατος, **ὁ μὲν ἰδιώτης ὤν**, ὁ δὲ φυγάς, οἰκίσαι πόλεις οἷοί τε γεγόνασιν […]. See Valente 2016, 105–106.

[43] Zenob. 4.34: Καλλίστρατος γὰρ ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐκπεσῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ἔπεισε τοὺς Θασίους τὴν ἀντιπέραν γῆν οἰκῆσαι λέγων ὅτι καὶ χρυσᾶ μέταλλα ἔχει καὶ γῆν ἄφθονον καὶ ὕλην ἀρίστην, καί ὅλως Δάτον ἀγαθῶν τὸν τόπον ἐκάλει. See Loukopoulou 2004, 859–860.

[44] Hochschulz 2007, 200–203.

[45] Sears 2013, 125.

[46] Polyaen. II, 24.1. Other sources (especially Xenophon and Diodorus) are silent about Iphicrates presence during the final show-off with Antalcidas, so we don't have any reason to reject the testimony of Polyaenus.

sojourn in Thrace, and it is possible that the general spent some time in his city before taking up mercenary service.

The question of Iphicrates' loyalty is difficult to answer, not only due to the fragmentary nature of the sources but also because of the changing dynamics of relations between Athens and the Thracian rulers. Seuthes II, whose friendship was secured by Thrasybulus, eventually approached Sparta at the end of the Corinthian War.[47] A slightly later inscription (unfortunately only partially preserved) mentions Athenian support for Hebrydzelmis, a very enigmatic ruler often considered an adversary of Seuthes.[48] If Iphicrates entered Seuthes' service and began the resettlement of Drys under these circumstances, it was likely a move not consulted with his countrymen.[49] However, later (around 383), Cotys I consolidated power, and for a long time, his relations with Athens were more than cordial. He received Athenian citizenship and a golden wreath.[50] We do not know if Iphicrates played a role in fostering relations between his fellow countrymen and the Thracian ruler, but it is quite possible. In the late 360s, when war broke out between Cotys and Athens, Iphicrates chose to remain neutral, as evidenced by his retreat to Antissa (on Lesbos). At an unspecified later time, he went to Drys. It is tentative to place his return to Thrace after Cotys' death around 360/359. He later reappears in Athenian service during the Social War.

We do not know how much time Iphicrates spent in Drys overall. In a frequently quoted *passus*, Theopompus qualifies Iphicrates and several other *strategoi* (Chabrias, Timotheos, and Chares) as people unable to live in their own *polis* due to the harshness of the Athenians.[51] However, the veracity of this statement is quite problematic: although all the mentioned commanders took up mercenary service, they continued to return to their native city.[52] Moreover, the claim about Athenian harshness conflicts with testimonies from other authors. For example, Nepos emphasizes that Iphicrates died in Athens as an old man, respected by his natives.[53] Thus, the fragment of Theopompus should not be used as definitive proof of the *strategoi*'s detachment from their own country.

The available sources present the behavior of Iphicrates in a mixed light. He was likely capable of acting on his own initiative and even going against the policy of Athens. However, in other situations, he could have been a proponent of his native city's interests. Moreover, we rarely see any evidence of accusations made against Iphicrates in Athens. Demosthenes speaks critically of him in *Against the Aristocrates* and even mentions the commander fighting against unspecified Athenian *strategoi*.[54] Yet, the speaker remains

[47] Aelius Aristides (*Panath*. 193.8.) mentions that Athens were in danger of fighting not only Sparta and Persia, but also Seuthes. See Höck 1891, 89; Archibald 1998, 219; Zahrnt 2015, 44. Yet Danov (1976, 332) supposes that Athens remained in good relations with Seuthes.

[48] IG II^2 31. See May 1950, 184; Archibald 1998, 219; Sears 2013, 124–125.

[49] Most scholars agree, that Iphicrates was acting in Thrace as a private person, see Parke 1933, 55, 127; Pritchett 1974, 64; Bianco 1997, 186–187; Bettali 2013, 374–375; Sears 2013, 123–124.

[50] Osborne 1983, 49–50. See Dem. XXIII, 118 and 129.

[51] *FGrHist* 115, F 105 (= Athen. XII, 532 A-B).

[52] Trundle 2001, 150–155; Howan 2010, 46–47, 58–59.

[53] Nep., *Iph*. 3.3: […] *vixit ad senectutem placates in se suorum civium animis* […].

[54] Dem. XXIII, 130. Modern scholars have expressed varied opinions about this episode from Iphicrates' career vary. Some of them reject the Demosthenes' testimony (e.g., Kallet 1983, 247–248). Others tend to accept that the commander indeed was fighting against his compatriots, at some time. See Cawkwell 1962,

silent about any formal charges brought against Iphicrates in Athenian courts. According to Cornelius Nepos, he was formally prosecuted only once, after the Social War.[55] It appears, then, that the Athenians were quite tolerant of his behavior. Apart from any possible distortions by Demosthenes, we must consider that their perception of loyalty (and disloyalty) may have differed from ours.[56] Perhaps Iphicrates was balancing between Athenian interests and those of his foreign principals. This might have contributed to his long and generally successful military career. The general was able to maintain contacts both in Athens and in Thrace simultaneously because he was careful not to burn bridges on either side. Thanks to this, Iphicrates was likely able to present himself as an attractive partner to both Thracian rulers and Athenian politicians (and the *demos*). For some time, Drys could have been an important financial and political asset in his hands.

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34–35 (but his proposal to put the whole episode in 366 seems problematic in light of the chronology of Iphicrates actions); Harris 1989, 265–269; Sears 2013, 128–129. Perhaps Julia Heskel has formulated the most convincing proposition (1997, 83–84, 142–144). According to her the whole episode happened before the outbreak of open war between Cotys and Athens. This led to a lenient treatment of Iphicrates by Athenians.

[55] Nep. *Iph*. 3.3: […] *causam capitis semel dixit, bello sociali, simul cum Timotheo, eoque iudicio est absolutus*.

[56] This is stressed by Kulesza (1994, 22) and Queyrel-Bottineau (2010, 25–92).

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 145–167
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.011.21401
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Les légendes lacédémoniennes de fondation en Pisidie et dans le Sud du Taurus

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Abstract
The Lacedemonian Foundation Legends in Pisidia and in the Southern Taurus Area

The epigraphic and numismatic documentation originated from the Greek cities of Pisidia and the southern Taurus area (Selge, Amlada, Sagalassos, and Kibyra) shows Lacedemonian identity claims as foundation legends, particularly during Roman imperial times (2nd–3rd centuries AD), issues that can be regularly connected to well-known literary sources. This contribution aims to gather the main documentation (epigraphic, literary and numismatic) for each city, before to replace it in its historical, political, religious and cultural context, addressing also the problem of the historicity of these Lacedemonian identity claims, and their meaning.

Keywords: Sparta, foundation legends, panhellenism, epigraphy, numismatics, literary sources, Anatolia, Crete, Hellenistic period, Roman Imperial times.

La documentation épigraphique et numismatique émanant des cités grecques de Selgè, Amlada, Sagalassos, et Kibyra, sises en Pisidie et plus généralement dans le Sud du Taurus, montre de leur part des revendications identitaires lacédémoniennes marquées en tant que légendes de fondation, particulièrement à l'époque impériale romaine, aux 2e–3e s. de notre ère, ce qu'il convient régulièrement de mettre en rapport avec des sources littéraires bien connues. Cette contribution se propose de rassembler l'essentiel de la documentation (épigraphique, littéraire et numismatique) en question pour chaque cité puis de la replacer dans son contexte historique, politique, religieux et culturel, de l'interpréter, tout en s'interrogeant sur l'historicité des revendications identitaires lacédémoniennes et leur sens.

* Je remercie vivement Nicolas Richer (Lyon) pour ses remarques, ainsi que Edward Dąbrowa (Kraków) pour la publication de cette contribution.

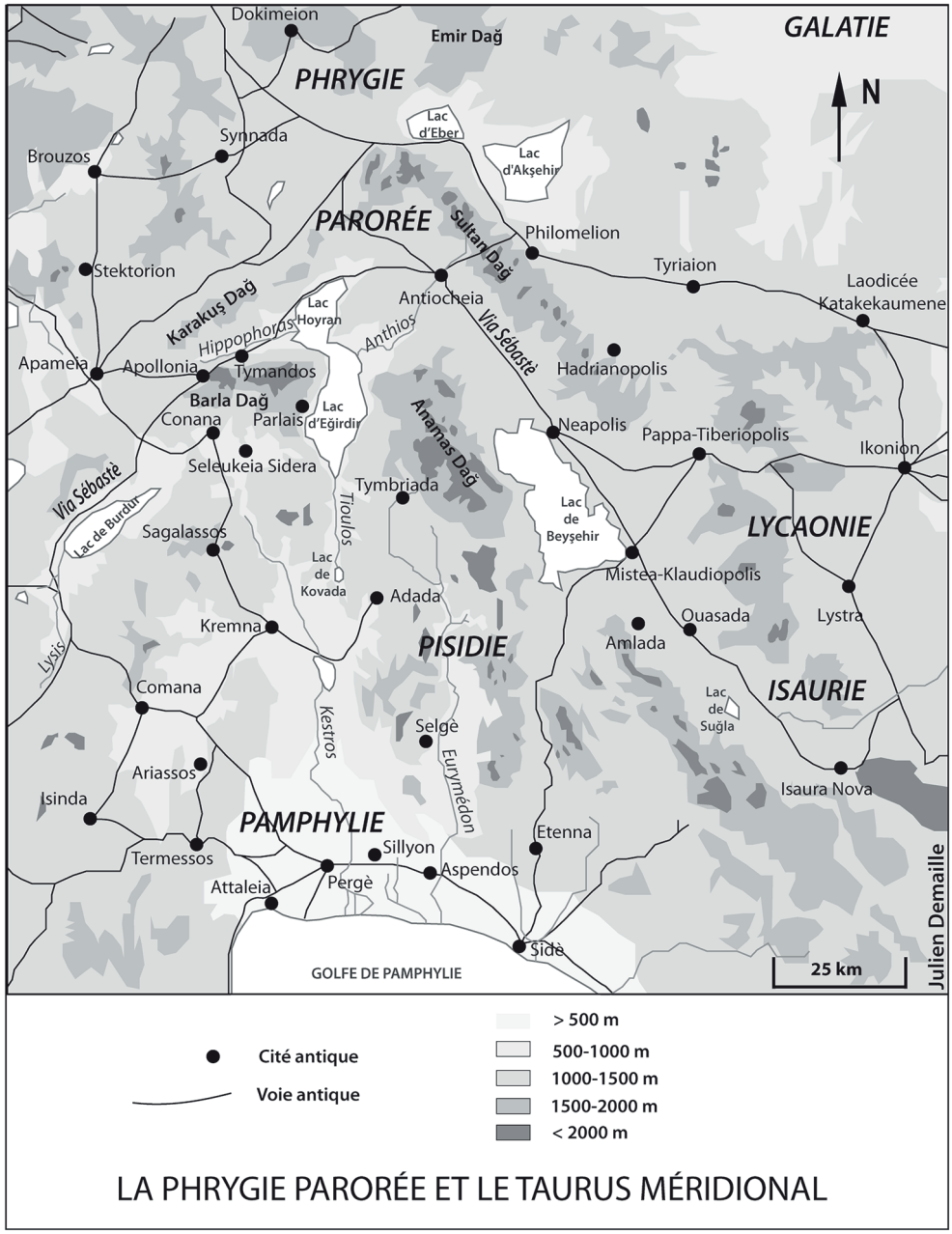


Fig. 1. Carte de la Phrygie Parorée et du Taurus méridional (J. Demaille)

I. La documentation

1. SELGÈ

Chronologiquement, c'est tout d'abord Polybe qui évoque l'ascendance lacédémonienne des Selgiens lorsqu'il traite de l'usurpation d'Achaios contre Antiochos III en 218 avant notre ère, sachant que cette cité grecque du Sud de la Pisidie était considérée comme la plus puissante et la plus ancienne de la zone sise au Nord de la plaine de Pamphylie, frappant des monnaies d'argent dès le V^e^ s. avant notre ère, cas unique dans la région.[1]

Polybe V, 76, 11 :[2]

> Σελγεῖς μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν Λογβάσιος ἀσέβειαν τῇ πατρίδι κινδυνεύσαντες, διὰ τὴν σφετέραν εὐτο λμίαν τήν τε πατρίδα διετήρησαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν οὐ κατήσχυναν καὶ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους συγγένειαν·
>
> « C'est ainsi qu'ayant vu leur patrie au bord de la ruine du fait des manœuvres impies de Logbasis, ils [les Selgiens] réussirent à la sauver par leur vaillance, faisant ainsi honneur à leur qualité de peuple libre et à leur parenté (συγγένεια) avec les Lacédémoniens. »

Je souligne à dessein la notion-clé de συγγένεια déployée ici par Polybe à l'époque hellénistique, car elle exprime une parenté qui peut être lointaine, légendaire ou symbolique dans l'esprit des anciens Grecs, par des biais historiques, guerriers ou mythologiques. Plus tard, à l'époque augustéenne, le grand connaisseur de l'Asie Mineure que fut Strabon évoque clairement la légende de fondation de Selgè.

Strabon XII, 7, 3 :

> Σέλγη δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκτίσθη πόλις, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον ὑπὸ Κάλχαντος·
>
> « Selgè fut à l'origine fondée par les Lacédémoniens comme cité, et auparavant par Calchas. »

Strabon semble distinguer la fondation institutionnelle de la cité de la fondation légendaire se rapportant à Calchas, le devin de l'*Iliade*,[3] ce qui confirme que ce procédé de recherche d'un *ktistès* civique dans l'épopée homérique était déjà établi au début de l'époque impériale en vertu d'une pratique en vogue au moins depuis la période hellénistique. Ensuite au II^e^ s. de notre ère, à l'époque de l'empereur Hadrien, Denys le

[1] Strabon, XII, 7, 1 : οἱ Σελγεῖς, οἵπερ εἰσὶν ἀξιολογώτατοι τῶν Πισιδῶν. Sur Selgè et les événements de 218 av. J.-C., voir notamment Bru 2017, 250–251. Sur l'histoire de Selgè en général, voir Nollé– Schindler 1991, 13−17, ainsi que les *testimonia* T1−T82. Concernant la cité et la question de l'historicité des revendications identitaires lacédémoniennes, voir Malkin 1999, 89 ; 287.

[2] Sur ce passage, voir Walbank 1957, 598 et 601.

[3] *Iliade*, I, 69 ; 92 ; II, 300 et suiv.

Périégète semble évoquer les Amycléens (Spartiates) comme fondateurs de Selgè.[4] C'est cependant une inscription tardive découverte à Selgè qui constitue un document décisif à verser au dossier.

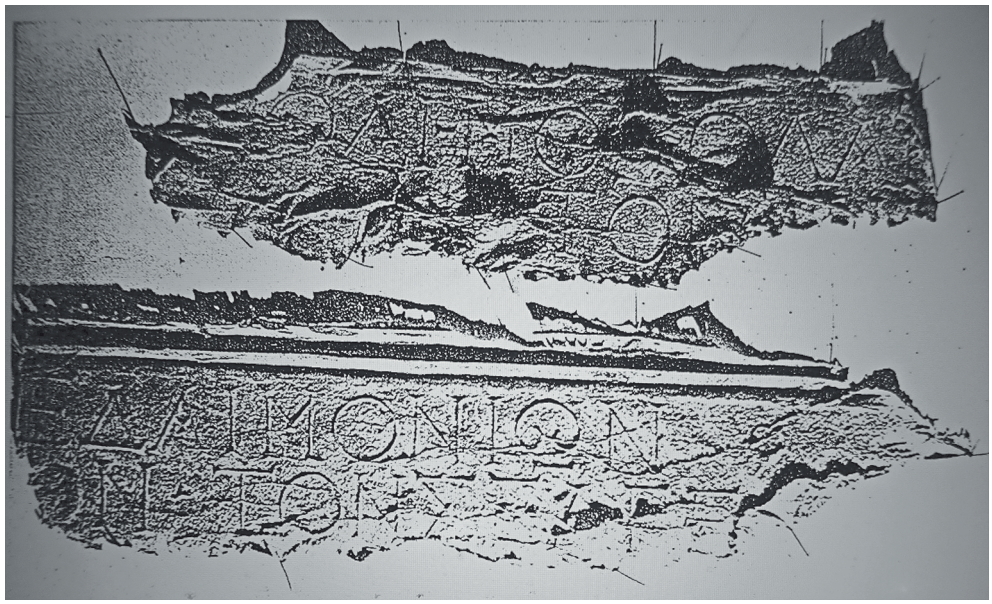


Fig. 2. *I. Selge* 6. Photographie d'estampage. Nollé, J., Schindler, F. (1991), *Die Inschriften von Selge*, Bonn

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων ❦
[ἐτείμησεν] τὸν [δῆμο]ν τὸν Σελγέ[ων].
« Le peuple des Lacédémoniens honore le peuple des Selgiens. »

La paléographie de cette importante inscription honorifique[5] montre une belle gravure régulière du Haut-Empire avec *apices* marqués : on songe d'abord aux II^e^-III^e^ siècles de notre ère, mais l'*alpha* à barre brisé archaïsant et le *oméga* à volutes suspendu pourraient indiquer que nous sommes possiblement au début du III^e^ s., par exemple à la fin du règne de Septime Sévère ou sous celui de Caracalla.[6] Le fait que le *dèmos* des Lacédémoniens honore à une date relativement tardive de l'époque impériale le *dèmos* de Selgè est bien

[4] Denys le Périégète, *Description de la terre habitée*, v. 860 : πρίν ποτ' Ἀμυκλαίων μεγαλώνυμος ἐν χθονὶ Σέλγη.

[5] H. 43cm ; L. 106cm ; P. 67cm. H. des lettres : 5 cm.

[6] Voir comme parallèle régional la belle dédicace des Tymandéniens à Caracalla publiée en 2009 (Bru – Labarre – Özsait 2009, 192−197, n° 1, dont fig. 5 ; cf. aussi Bru 2024, 188−190).

sûr frappant. À une période plus tardive encore, au VI^e^ s. de notre ère, Étienne de Byzance est affirmatif dans une de ses notices.

Étienne de Byzance, *Ethnika*, s.v. :
Σέλγη, πόλις Πισιδίας, ἄποικος Λακεδαιμονίων.

« Selgè, cité de Pisidie, colonie des Lacédémoniens. »

L'auteur emploie dans ce cas une terminologie qui emprunte au champ lexical colonial des Grecs. Les sources littéraires et épigraphiques précitées se complètent grâce à la numismatique.

En effet, comme nous l'avons mentionné, Selgè a frappé des monnaies d'argent à légende dialectale dès le V^e^ s. avant notre ère, une date haute pour la région : il s'agit de statères persiques d'argent montrant des lutteurs aux prises, ainsi que des légendes avec des variantes, dont ΣΤΛΕΓΕΥΣ.[7] Sur les premières monnaies d'argent, l'arrêt des légendes épichoriques se situe vers 300 av. J.-C., pour passer au grec ΣΕΛΓΕΩΝ (génitif pluriel classique). Le monnayage d'argent de la cité s'interrompit au I^er^ s. av. J.-C., alors que des frappes de bronze firent leur apparition aux 2^e^–1^er^ s. av. J.-C., l'atelier de Selgè cessant d'émettre au plus tard sous le règne d'Amyntas de Galatie (assassiné en 25 av. J.-C.) ; ensuite les frappes civiques de bronze reprirent seulement sous le règne d'Hadrien (117–138), et ce jusqu'à celui d'Aurélien (270–275).[8] Historiquement et économiquement, on en déduit que les Selgiens, installés sur un plateau ceint d'un impressionnant cirque montagneux (massif du Bozburun) à une cinquantaine de kilomètres du littoral méditerranéen, bénéficièrent en premier lieu du dynamisme de la proche plaine de Pamphylie, mais aussi de celui de la Lycie, de la Carie et de l'Anatolie occidentale à l'époque achéménide (6^e^–4^e^ s. av. J.-C.). Le dynamisme économique, politique et militaire de la cité ne se démentit pas à l'époque hellénistique, après avoir montré son insoumission temporaire à Alexandre le Grand, puis à Antiochos III en 193 av. J.-C.[9] ou encore à Eumène II de Pergame lors des guerres galatiques (et pisidiques) des années 160 avant notre ère, et il est certain que Selgè s'opposa également à la puissance romaine aux côtés d'autres Pisidiens au tout début de l'Empire, les gouverneurs de Galatie puis de Lycie-Pamphylie[10] ne lui ayant manifestement pas accordé le droit de frapper monnaie à cette période. Bien plus tard, sous Trajan Dèce (249–251 ap. J.-C.), Selgè frappe une intéressante monnaie.

[7] Voir Brixhe 1976, 287–290, avec les monnaies n° 170 (statère persique d'argent) ; 170a (obole éginétique d'argent).

[8] Voir von Aulock 1979, 45.

[9] Bru 2017, 52.

[10] Bru 2017, 28–30.

Fig. 3. *RPC* IX 1044 (= Franke – Nollé 1997, n° 1863A), bronze (31 mm)

Avers : Trajan Dèce radié à droite, avec *paludamentum* et cuirasse.
Légende : AY KAI ΓA MЄ KY TPA ΔЄKION ЄY CЄ (K)
[Imperator Caesar Gaius Messius Quintus Traianus Decius Pius Augustus]

Revers : autour d'un autel brûlant (avec serpent), Athéna à dr. avec lance, Héraklès à g. avec massue et peau du lion de Némée
Légende : CЄΛΓЄΩN ΛAKЄΔAIMONIΩN, OMON(OIA)

Cette monnaie célèbre l'*homonoia* (c'est-à-dire la concorde) entre Selgè et les Lacédémoniens, tout en entretenant une ambiguïté sémantique, dans la mesure où la légende gravée au revers permet également de lire au génitif pluriel l'identité des « Selgiens Lacédémoniens » pour la partie la plus visible du texte gravé. Cela confirme les liens officiels tardifs entre les deux communautés que souligne l'inscription *I. Selge* 6 (*supra*).

2. AM(B)LADA

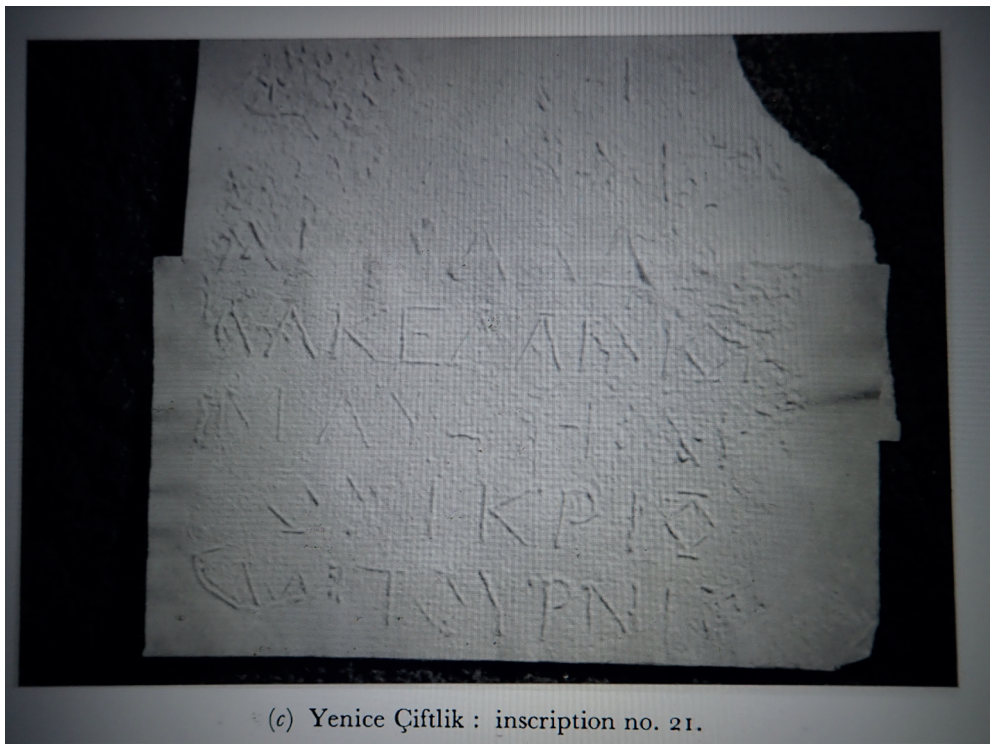
La petite cité grecque pisidienne d'Amlada, sise entre le lac de Beyşehir et le lac de Suğla (voir carte *supra*), est connue par une lettre royale pergaménienne d'Attale (alors futur Attale II) gravée à Amlada vers 160 av. J.-C. par laquelle le frère d'Eumène II réduit les indemnités de guerre des habitants et libère des otages de la cité vaincue en témoignage d'apaisement, suite à une ambassade de la ville envoyée à Pergame en vue d'adoucir les sanctions ayant résulté des guerres galatiques (et pisidiques) qui ont précédé.[11] Deux inscriptions bien plus tardives témoignent des revendications identitaires lacédémoniennes d'Amlada.

[ἡ] βουλὴ κ[αὶ]
ὁ δῆμ[ος]

[11] *OGIS* 751 = Welles 1966, 237–241, n° 54; Swoboda– Keil– Knoll 1935, n° 74 ; Bru 2017, 55.

Ἀμβλαδ̣έ[ων]
Λακεδαιμον[ίων]
Μ. Αὐρήλι[ον]
vac. Οὐίκριο[ν]
Κ̣α̣λ̣πουρνια̣[νὸν---]

« Le conseil et le peuple des Ambladéens Lacédémoniens (dédient la statue) à Marcus Aurelius Vicrius Calpurnianus [---]. »



(*c*) Yenice Çiftlik : inscription no. 21.

Fig. 4. A.S. Hall, « Notes and inscriptions from eastern Pisidia », *Anatolian Studies* 18, 1968, p. 76–77, n° 21. H. 43cm ; L. 47cm ; P. inconnue ; H. des lettres 3cm. Photographie d'estampage Pl. XIIc.

Cette base de statue honorifique civique découverte à Yenice Çiftlik à l'été 1957 montre une paléographie du Haut-Empire, avec *alpha* archaïsant à barre brisée, *omicron* en forme de losange et de légers *apices* indiquant la première moitié du III^e^ s. de notre ère, datation confirmée par la nomenclature de M. Aurelius Vicrius Calpurnianus[12] manifestement postérieure à la *constitutio Antoniniana* de 212. Les Ambladéens se disent clairement « Lacédémoniens » sur cette base de statue honorifique et civique, ce qui rappelle

[12] *LGPN* VC, 208, Καλπουρνιανὸς n° 2.

les « Selgiens Lacédémoniens » s'exprimant *supra* sur un revers monétaire de Selgè. Une autre inscription honorifique d'Amlada est connue vers la même époque.

[---]
[---Ἀμβλαδέ]
-ω[ν Λα]κεδαιμονί-
ων πόλις τὸν ἑαυ-
τῆς προστάτην
καὶ εὐεργέτην
καὶ κτίστην, βου-
λῆς καὶ δήμου
δόγματι.

« [---] la cité des Ambladéens Lacédémoniens à son prostate, évergète et fondateur, par décision du conseil et du peuple. »

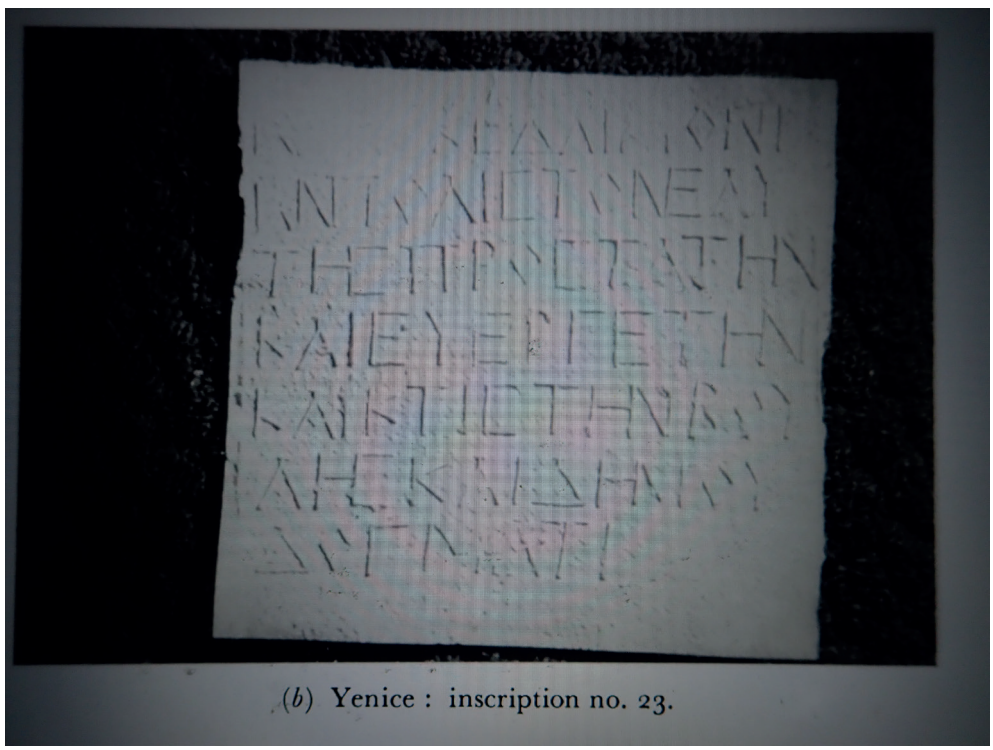


Fig. 5. A.S. Hall, « Notes and inscriptions from eastern Pisidia », *Anatolian Studies* 18, 1968, p. 77, n° 23. H. 86cm ; L. 54cm ; P. 56cm ; H. des lettres 3cm. Photographie d'estampage Pl. XIIIb

Il s'agit d'un autel découvert à Yenice (Asar Dağ), pierre hélas acéphale (cassée en haut), où se trouvait le nom du personnage honoré à l'accusatif comme « prostate, évergète et fondateur ».

Sa paléographie du Haut-Empire montrant *alpha* archaïsant à barre brisée, *omicron* en forme de losange, *sigma* carré et de légers *apices* indique la première moitié du III^{e} s. de notre ère. Selon toute vraisemblance, les Ambladéens se disent « Lacédémoniens » sur ce monument honorifique, comme pour le précédent (*supra*), vers la même époque.

Dès les premières frappes monétaires d'époque impériale, sous Commode (180–192), la légende « Ambladéens Lacédémoniens » apparaît à Amlada. Elle réapparaît sous Sévère Alexandre (222–235) sur un revers de Iulia Mamaea, puis sous Philippe l'Arabe, sous le règne duquel les jeux séculaires furent célébrés à Rome, en 248 (et ceux du millénaire de l'*Vrbs*).[13]

Fig. 6. Ainsi sous Commode *RPC* IV.3, n° 7288 temp. (= von Aulock 1977, I, 123), bronze (35 mm)

Avers : Commode lauré à dr. avec cuirasse
Légende : AYT KAI MAP AVP KOMOΔON [*Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus*]

Revers : *Tychai* d'Amblada et de Sparte avec sceptre se serrant la main
Légende : AMBΛAΔA ΛAKƐΔAIMO

Sous Sévère Alexandre, des revers monétaires exhibent Cybèle (*RPC* VI, n^{o} 6598 temp.), alors que sous Philippe l'Arabe (244–249), de nombreux exemplaires furent frappés, avec des revers montrant Héraklès, Tychè, Némésis à la roue, un trophée militaire.

Voici un exemple sous Philippe l'Arabe, *RPC* VIII, unassigned, ID 20801.

[13] Voir Körner 2002, 248–259.

Fig. 7. *RPC* VIII, unassigned, ID 20801

Avers : Philippe l'Arabe lauré, drapé et cuirassé à dr. Légende : AYT KAIC M IOYΛ ΦIΛIΠΠOC CЄB [*Imperator Caesar Marcus Iulius Philippus Augustus*]

Revers : Héraklès à dr., avec massue, carquois, flèches, la peau du lion de Némée, un bucrane. Légende : AMBΛAΔЄΩN ΛAKЄΔAIMONIΩN

3. SAGALASSOS

La cité de Sagalassos, grande ville du Sud de la Pisidie s'étant développée dans un écrin montagneux, a livré depuis les années 1990 de prodigieux résultats archéologiques, qu'il s'agisse d'architecture, d'urbanisme, de sculpture ou d'épigraphie, grâce aux remarquables travaux de l'équipe de Marc Waelkens.[14] Certaines parties du vaste site indiquent un développement du bâti dès le VI^e^ s. avant notre ère, même si la majorité des impressionnants vestiges archéologiques sont à dater du Haut-Empire romain. Concernant l'expression de son identité lacédémonienne, Sagalassos se distingue par ses monnaies, cela à partir du règne de Marc-Aurèle (161–180).

Cette fois, la revendication identitaire lacédémonienne civique passe par le héros fondateur péloponnésien Lakedaimon. Par la suite, le héros Lakedaimon semble apparaître de nouveau, mais sans légende le confirmant, au revers de monnaies de Iulia Maesa, Sévère Alexandre, Maximin le Thrace, Philippe l'Arabe, Trajan Dèce et Trébonien Galle, donc jusqu'au milieu du III^e^ s. de notre ère. Le héros Lakedaimon, laconien par essence, était fils de Taygétè (héroïne éponyme du mont Taygète), ayant épousé Sparta, fille d'Eurotas (hydronyme lacédémonien célèbre).[15] Mais c'est véritablement sous Philippe l'Arabe (244–249) que la revendication d'origine lacédémonienne est de retour.

[14] Voir notamment Waelkens– Poblome 2011 ; Eich– Eich– Eck 2018 ; Poblome 2023.

[15] Sur cela, voir notamment Euripide, *Oreste*, 615 ; Pindare, *Pythiques*, III, 14 ; Apollonios de Rhodes, *Argonautiques*, IV, 1091 ; Pausanias, *Périégèse*, III, 1, 2–3 ; 13, 8 ; 18, 6 ; 20, 2 ; VII, 18, 5 ; IX, 35, 1 ; Apollodore, *Bibliothèque*, II, 2, 2. Nota : Eurotas était d'après la mythologie petit-fils de Lelex, chef des Lélèges, peuple mythique qu'on retrouve en Carie, sachant que les Cnidiens étaient liés aux Spartiates (voir Malkin 1999, 99, 104–105). À propos de la figure de Lakedaimon, voir également Malkin 1999, 31, 35.

Fig. 8. Sous Marc-Aurèle, *RPC* IV.3, nº 4955 (temp.)

Avers : Marc-Aurèle lauré et drapé à dr. avec *paludamentum* et cuirasse
Légende : AVT KAI AV ANTΩNINOC

Revers : le héros Lakedaimon à g. avec patère et lance, couronné par la *Tychè* de Sagalassos avec *cornucopia*
Légende : ΛAKƐΔAIMΩN CAƓAΛACCOC

Fig. 9. Sous Philippe l'Arabe, *RPC* VIII unassigned ID 20886 (cf. Franke-Nollé 1997, n° 1794–1798), bronze, 36 mm

Avers : Philippe l'Arabe lauré et drapé, avec *paludamentum* et cuirasse
Légende : AY KA MAP IOY ΦIΛIΠΠON

Revers : *Tychè* de Sagalassos à g. avec patère et *cornucopia*, héros Lakedaimon avec patère et sceptre
Légende : CAƓAΛACCƐΩN ΛAKƐΔAIMONIΩN OMONOIA

Comme à Selgè (cf. *supra*), l'*homonoia* entre les Sagalassiens et les Lacédémoniens est promue, tout en affichant, toujours au revers, les « Sagalassiens Lacédémoniens » au génitif pluriel. Or, au même moment, Sagalassos émet une monnaie proclamant autrement son identité civique et régionale.

Fig. 10. Sous Philippe l'Arabe, *RPC* VIII unassigned ID 20875

Avers : Philippe II (Philippe le Jeune), lauré, drapé et cuirassé à dr.
Légende : AYT KA MAP IOY ΦIΛIΠΠOC CЄ

Revers : autour d'une couronne de laurier agonistique, on lit la légende CAΓAΛACCЄΩN ΠPΩTHC ΠICIΔΩN ; à l'intérieur de la couronne avec palme ΦIΛHC KAI CYMMAXOY PΩMAIΩN

La cité annonce donc, de manière presque programmatique, son identité par rapport à l'empire romain (en tant qu'amie et alliée), et par rapport à sa région, face à sa concurrente Antioche de Pisidie sise plus au Nord. Cela complète ainsi son identité « historique » ou légendaire. On note que déjà sous Caracalla en 212, l'année de la *constitutio Antoniniana*, une belle inscription brisée de Sagalassos proclame la cité « première de Pisidie »,[16] ce qui prouve que la cité chercha à se distinguer au moment d'une distribution juridique de la *civitas*, de la citoyenneté, au sein de l'empire territorial romain en cours d'homogénéisation sociale, politique et culturelle. Sous Philippe l'Arabe, les jeux séculaires de 248 marquèrent une autre étape, cyclique, de l'histoire de l'empire gréco-romain. En résumé, Sagalassos promut pour elle-même une identité civique grecque, spartiate, régionalement pisidienne (identité historico-culturelle), mais aussi romaine (identité politique plus récente d'un point de vue chronologique et historique).

[16] *SEG* 45, 1761 ; voir Bru 2024, 187, fig. 2.

4. KIBYRA

Aux confins méridionaux de la Pisidie et du Nord-Ouest de la Lycie, Kibyra fit valoir une ascendance lacédémonienne, comme nous le prouvent deux inscriptions du II^e^ s. de notre ère, à l'époque de l'essor du Panhellenion, cette ligue culturelle, religieuse et politique de cités grecques garantes du panhellénisme voulue par l'empereur Hadrien à partir de 131 ap. J.-C., et dont Kibyra, proche des Romains depuis la fin de l'époque républicaine,[17] était membre ;[18] la plus importante, car officielle et civique, fut découverte en Italie à Pouzzoles, grand port impérial romain de la côte tyrrhénienne. Elle fit couler beaucoup d'encre, car en raison d'une lacune (d'abord mal restituée), les premiers éditeurs du texte ne saisirent *a priori* pas que Kibyra revendiquait une origine spartiate en tant que fondation lacédémonienne, ce qu'A. Wilhelm corrigea par sa clairvoyance dès 1897.[19]

CIG 5852 ; *IG* XIV, 829 ; *OGIS* 497 ; *IGR* I, 418 ; *SEG* 44, 823 ; *SEG* 53, 1090 ; Curty 1995, 204–205, n° 81 :

1 [Ἀ]γαθῆι τύ[χ]ηι · Ζεὺς Σω[τήρ] ·
Ἡ Κιβυρατῶν πόλις, ἄποικος Λ[ακεδαιμονίων καὶ]
συγγενὶς Ἀθηναίων καὶ φί[λη, μετέχουσα καὶ]
αὐτὴ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος [συνεδρίου, ἐν ταῖς]
5 ἐνδόξοις οὖσα καὶ μεγάλαις [τῆς Ἀσίας πόλε]-
σιν διά τε τὸ γένος τὸ Ἑλληνι[κὸν καὶ διὰ τὴν]
πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐκ παλαιοῦ φι[λίαν τε καὶ εὔνοι]-
αν καὶ διὰ τὸ εὐξῆσθαι τειμαῖ[ς ἐξαιρέτοις ὑπὸ]
θεοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ, ἀνέθηκε τῆι [θεᾶι ?, κατὰ τὸ δό]-
10 γμα τ[ο]ῦ Πανελληνίου ἐνγρα[φεῖσα εἰς τὸ συνέδριον].

Ce décret-dédicace de Kibyra conservé au musée archéologique de Naples est donné ici d'après *SEG* 44, 823, en prenant en compte les propositions de restitutions de Simone Follet. Bien que la partie droite brisée de la pierre soit lacunaire, les lignes 2–3 confirment que Kibyra revendiqua des origines lacédémoniennes en tant que colonie, mais également une parenté (συγγένεια) athénienne, ce qui rappelle la double revendication d'origines à la fois doriennes et ioniennes par Synnada en Phrygie.[20] Aux lignes 7–8 est rappelée

[17] Cf. *infra*.

[18] Spawforth– Walker 1985, 80, 82.

[19] Cf. Robert– Robert 1972, 396, n° 139 ; Follet 1996, 586–587, n° 195.

[20] Robert 1980, 240 ; Robert 1950, 90–91 (contenu des cours au Collège de France en 1944–1945); Robert 1962, 52 ; Robert – Robert 1966, 358, n° 144 ; Robert – Robert 1972, 396–397, n° 139 ; Bru 2017, 216–221. Les monnaies émises massivement par Synnada sous Antonin le Pieux affichent sur leurs revers CYNNAΔEΩN IΩNΩN (*RPC* IV, 2, n° 2986 temp., comme plus tard sous Trajan Dèce : *RPC* IX, n° 885), mais on trouve également sur des revers CYNNAΔEΩN ΔΩPIEΩN, les deux légendes apparaissant peut-être entre 144 et 161 ap. J.-C. (*RPC* IV.2, n° 2205 temp. ; voir aussi sous un règne incertain avec présence de la *boulè* à l'avers *RPC* IV.2, n° 11885 et *RPC* VI, n° 5770 temp.). Or c'est manifestement sous le règne d'Antonin le Pieux qu'une inscription de Sparte (*IG* V, 1, 452) nous révèle la dédicace de Claudius Attalos Andragathos, issu d'une très influente famille de Synnada, pour « l'Athéna Polias des colons synnadéens » ([Συ]ννα̣δέων ἀποίκων), le dédicant étant prêtre d'Homonoia et de Zeus Eleutherios Olympios, et provenant d'une famille ayant fourni des asiarques (grands-prêtres du culte impérial de la province d'Asie) tel que Tib. Claudius Piso Tertullinus, lié lui-même à Claudia Lorentia sur la base de statue de Pergè publiée en 2016 (voir Jones 1996, 54–56 pour

la proximité ancienne entre les Romains et Kibyra, comme Sagalassos « amie et alliée des Romains », raison pour laquelle il serait peut-être préférable de plutôt restituer ici ἐκ παλαιοῦ φι[λίαν καὶ συμμαχί]αν, d'après une formulation courante dans les inscriptions. La ligne 9 permet de dater cette inscription d'Italie d'après la mort d'Hadrien divinisé en 138 ap. J.-C., sous le règne d'Antonin le Pieux (138–161), époque à laquelle les activités du Panhellenion retentirent également à Synnada,[21] en symbiose avec le culte impérial. Les origines spartiates revendiquées par Kibyra sont à mettre en rapport avec les Licinnii d'Oenoanda très actifs au sein du *koinon* de Lycie et donc dans le domaine du culte impérial, comme nous le montre l'inscription cruciale *IGR* III 500 du début du III^e^ siècle de notre ère qui nous rapporte leur généalogie faisant allusion aux Lacédémoniens.[22]

II. Existe-t-il une historicité de la présence des Spartiates en Pisidie et dans le Sud du Taurus ?

À cette question, on pourrait répondre d'une manière quelque peu abrupte : pas vraiment, ou bien alors indirectement. C'est la raison pour laquelle on évoque souvent une origine lacédémonienne fictive pour les cités grecques du Sud du Taurus. En effet, les traces de l'influence spartiate en Asie Mineure depuis l'époque archaïque sont extrêmement limitées : on peut évoquer la présence de quelques colons en Carie, à Cnide (cf. *supra*), dans une région directement riveraine de la mer Égée. À l'époque hellénistique, la Laconie formait très peu de mercenaires, car Sparte était en plein déclin politique et démographique, manquant de citoyens.[23] Au surplus, les Laconiens n'avaient pas l'habitude de se faire payer pour faire la guerre, cela allait culturellement de soi pour eux. Il est en revanche archéologiquement et historiquement bien établi qu'à une date assez haute, de l'époque mycénienne jusqu'au VII^e^ s. av. J.-C., les Péloponnésiens et les Spartiates ont fortement colonisé la grande île de Crète. Les Spartiates sont ainsi connus par les sources pour

une restitution vraisemblable du texte de Sparte ; Bru− Demirer− Tüner-Önen 2016, 72–78, n° 2 pour le nouveau texte de Pergè). Sous Gordien III (238–244), les Synnadéens se disent « doriens ioniens » sur leur légendes monétaires : ΔΩΡΙΕΩΝ ΙΩΝΩΝ CYNNAΔΕΩΝ (*RPC* VII.1, n° 795−796), cela à l'époque où, juste avant sa campagne persique, l'empereur partit de Rome en célébrant en 242 un concours grec dédié à Athéna Promachos (divinité promue par les Athéniens de l'époque classique contre les Perses ; voir Robert 1970). Cela exprime bien l'optique panhellénique particulièrement en vogue depuis la création du Panhellenion par Hadrien en 131. À Synnada, la revendication d'une origine « dorienne-ionienne » se poursuivit un peu plus tard sous Trajan Dèce (*RPC* IX, n° 887–888), et sous un règne incertain (*RPC* VII.1, n° 796A). On note que la mention ΔΩΡΙΕΩΝ arrive devant celle de ΙΩΝΩΝ. À propos de revendication « dorienne », il importe de souligner que non loin de Synnada en Phrygie, Eumeneia de Phrygie se voulait une cité « achéenne » dans une inscription datant probablement de l'époque d'Hadrien, mais aussi sur des monnaies frappées sous Marc-Aurèle César, et Géta César (Bru 2017, 221−222), de même qu'Akmoneia nous fait connaître en 215–216 une association d' « illustres et vénérables Achéens » ayant laissé une dédicace versifiée à Zeus Alsènos, au moment où Caracalla effectuait un pèlerinage à Ilion, en Troade. Les références au vieux Péloponnèse des Grecs étaient donc en faveur, d'un point de vue identitaire, et régulièrement en rapport avec Homère et l'*Iliade*.

[21] Laquelle était membre de cette ligue de cités grecques (Spawforth− Walker 1985, 80, 91−92).

[22] *IGR* III, 500, ligne 9 ; *SEG* 46, 1709 ; Jameson 1966; Heller 2009, 59–60. Sur les relations entre les Lacédémoniens et l'Anatolie, voir notamment Woodward 1953 ; Malkin 1999.

[23] Launey 1987, I : 113.

avoir fondé l'importante cité de Gortyne,[24] laquelle possédait un *Amyklaion*, sachant que le mois Amyklaios était un mois crétois, et qu'on connaît la fête des Hyacinthia (liée au sanctuaire lacédémonien d'Amyclées) à Cnossos, Tylissos, et aussi manifestement à Lato et Mallia. Plus tard à l'époque hellénistique, entre 181 et 168 av. J.-C., le Lacédémonien Pedestratos reçut la proxénie de Gortyne, en même temps que le gouverneur de Chypre, sans doute en rapport avec le recrutement de quelques mercenaires.[25]

Or les Crétois, notamment les gens de Gortyne, sont historiquement très présents en Pisidie et dans le Sud du Taurus, sans doute dès l'époque archaïque, en arrivant, comme d'autres, par la plaine de Pamphylie, puis en remontant vers le Nord par les routes longeant les vallées fluviales (Kestros, Eurymédon par exemple). Marc Waelkens et son équipe ont montré qu'il existait un établissement de type « proto-historique » à Sagalassos dès le VI^{e} s. av. J.-C., et nous avons vu que Selgè frappa des monnaies d'argent dès le V^{e} s. av. J.-C., marque d'une hellénisation précoce. Marcel Launey note que les Crétois furent relativement peu nombreux dans l'armée d'Alexandre le Grand au regard de nos sources, mais de très influents officiers crétois se distinguèrent, à commencer par Néarchos de Crète, originaire de Lato. Or on note justement qu'en Pisidie jusqu'à l'époque impériale, l'anthroponyme Νέαρχος fut très populaire dans les inscriptions : d'abord en Pisidie, mais aussi en Phrygie, en Lycie, et dans une moindre mesure en Carie (notamment à Cnide). Cela ne doit rien au hasard, puisqu'on connaît l'existence d'une cité de Pisidie méridionale nommée Krétopolis,[26] à l'Est de Kremna, autre établissement peuplé de Crétois, sachant qu'en 319 av. J.-C., Antigone le Borgne venu de Cappadoce fit campagne jusqu'à Krétopolis contre Alkétas, le frère de Perdiccas, lequel dut fuir avec des Pisidiens à Termessos (où il se suicida).[27]

Un peu plus tard, les Séleucides et les Lagides recrutèrent massivement des mercenaires crétois, originaires d'une île montagneuse sans doute marquée par une forte démographie, de manière intense entre 280 et 220 avant notre ère. On note que régulièrement, les Spartiates et les Crétois combattaient ensemble, entre locuteurs d'un dialecte dorien. Vers 228–223, des centaines de Crétois reçurent la citoyenneté de Milet.[28] Vers 219, les Lagides, très actifs en Pamphylie et à Chypre, et les Séleucides, recrutèrent de très nombreux Crétois, notamment pour les guerres de Syrie, et en 217 à la bataille de Raphia, Antiochos III aligna par exemple 1000 Crétois commandés par Eurylochos et 1000 Néocrétois (armés différemment) aux ordres de Zélys de Gortyne pour un total de 2500 sur son aile droite ;[29] face à eux, à l'aile gauche de l'armée lagide se trouvaient d'autres crétois commandés par Knôpias,[30] à titre d'exemple. Vers 220, Rhodes passa un traité avec la cité crétoise de Hiérapytna afin de disposer de mercenaires avec l'accord des Séleucides, alors que les Crétois étaient très présents à Chypre auprès des Lagides. Dans sa guerre livrée en Anatolie contre Achaios en 218, Antiochos III disposait de Crétois commandés par le Crétois Kambylos,[31] et Achaios fut livré par le Crétois Bôlis ; plus tard en 209 dans

[24] Conon, *FGrHist* 26 F I, 36 ; Éphore, *FGrHist* 70 F 117−118 ; Nicolas de Damas *FGrHist* 90 F 28 ; Strabon VIII, 5, 4 ; Malkin 1999, 139 et n. 216.

[25] *SGDI*, 1036, n°. 9, lignes 5−7.

[26] Diodore XVIII, 44.

[27] Mitchell 1994, 129−136 ; Sekunda 1997.

[28] *Milet* III: *Delphinion*, n° 33−35.

[29] Polybe V, 79, 10 ; voir Walbank 1957, 607, 609.

[30] Polybe V, 82, 4.

[31] Polybe VIII, 15, 4 ; voir Walbank 1967, 94.

l'expédition orientale d'Antiochos III dans les hautes satrapies, 2000 Crétois participèrent à la campane d'Hyrcanie.[32] Vers 200 avant notre ère, le tyran de Sparte Nabis recrutait lui aussi des mercenaires en Crète,[33] de même que Philippe V de Macédoine qui utilisa en 197 av. J.-C. 800 Crétois.[34] En 189, à la bataille de Magnésie du Sipyle, Antiochos III aligna encore environ 2500 Crétois.[35] Cette même année, dans la campagne militaire de Cn. Manlius Vulso contre les Galates, les archers et frondeurs crétois de l'armée pergaménienne d'Eumène II harcelèrent les Galates avec efficacité.[36] Après le traité d'Apamée de Phrygie de 188, on sait qu'Antiochos III installa des colons crétois, *a priori* d'anciens mercenaires, notamment sur le territoire d'Antioche de Syrie.[37] Peu après, en 183 av. J.-C., le roi pergaménien Eumène II conclut un traité avec près de 30 cités crétoises, d'après une inscription de Gortyne[38] (**Fig. 11a–b**), en plus d'un accord avec Kydonia connu par Polybe ;[39] les Attalides ont par la suite pu lotir à leur tour certains mercenaires crétois en Anatolie, à la suite des Séleucides. À Keraia en Pisidie, près de Kremna, des colons crétois, sans doute des mercenaires *symmachoi* au service des Attalides, se sont en effet installés, d'après Nicholas Sekunda entre 183 et 100 avant notre ère.[40]

Au fil du II^e^ s. av. J.-C., pendant leurs guerres dynastiques, les Séleucides Alexandre Balas, puis Démétrios II en 145 recrutaient encore des mercenaires en Crète (en violation du traité d'Apamée),[41] sachant qu'un des ports séleucides qui restèrent actifs au Sud du Taurus (officiellement non militairement) fut celui de Sidè, haut lieu de la piraterie et du mercenariat de la côte pamphylienne. Au II^e^ s. av. J.-C., les Crétois furent encore massivement recrutés comme mercenaires ; on en trouve ensuite dans les armées de Pompeius Magnus, et même de César en Gaule contre les Rèmes en 57 avant notre ère.[42] L'émigration des Crétois de 280 à 150/100 avant notre ère fut massive, ce qui fit dire à Marcel Launey : « Il paraît hors de doute que, pendant la période qui nous occupe [l'époque hellénistique], la Crète a possédé une puissance démographique considérable. »[43] J'ajoute que le comportement des anciennes populations étéocrétoises dut jouer un rôle majeur pour fournir à la grande île mythique une forte démographie, imprimant à la Crète une forte natalité au sein de ses cités grecques des époques archaïque, classique et hellénistique, alors que durant cette dernière période, les corps civiques des *poleis* étaient souvent insuffisants en raison d'un strict contrôle des naissances.[44] *A contrario*, Crétois et Pisidiens, peuples montagnards pauvres, manquant de terres cultivables et dotés d'une puissante natalité, fournirent des contingents massifs de mercenaires sur la longue durée, de l'époque achéménide à l'époque impériale romaine.

[32] Polybe X, 29, 6 ; voir Pédech 1958, 73–81 ; Walbank 1967, 239.
[33] Polybe XIII, 8, 2.
[34] Tite-Live XXXIII, 14, 4.
[35] Tite-Live XXXVII, 40, 8 et 13 ; Appien, *Syr.* 32, moins précis.
[36] Tite-Live XXXVIII, 21, 2.
[37] Libanios, *Or.* XI, 119.
[38] *SIG*^{3} 627 ; *IC* IV 179 ; *SEG* 16, 534.
[39] Polybe XXVIII, 15 ; voir Walbank 1979, 349.
[40] Sekunda 2021.
[41] Josèphe, *AJ* XIII, 96 ; *I Macc.* 10, 67.
[42] César, *Guerre des Gaules*, II, 7, 1.
[43] Launey 1987, I, 275.
[44] Voir notamment Brulé 2007, 21–45.

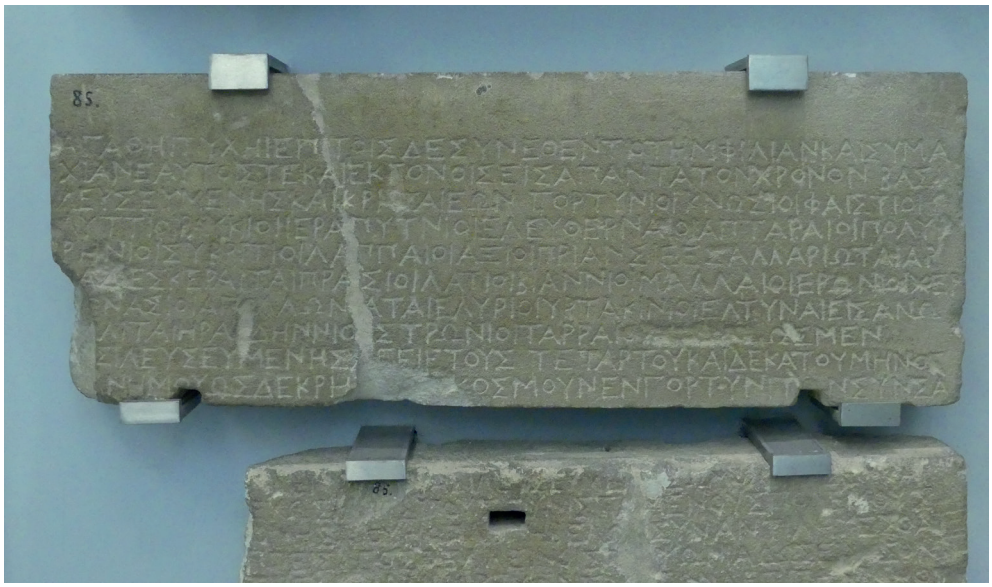


Fig. 11a. *SIG*[3] 627 ; *IC* IV 179 ; *SEG* 16, 534. Partie supérieure du texte. Musée archéologique d'Héraklion (Grèce). Phot. H. Bru

Fig. 11b. *SIG*[3] 627 ; *IC* IV 179 ; *SEG* 16, 534. Partie inférieure du texte. Musée archéologique d'Héraklion (Grèce). Phot. H. Bru

Les cités crétoises qui fournirent le plus de mercenaires furent Gortyne et Rethymna, avec Cnossos et Eleutherna. Même s'ils préféraient revenir dans leur île,[45] les Crétois se sont installés ailleurs, on le sait par les sources, notamment des épitaphes ; ils étaient souvent des *symmachoi* (alliés par traité), des auxiliaires fantassins légers, surtout des archers, au service des commanditaires qui les payaient. Au Ier s. av. J.-C. encore, la cité de Selgè, en Pisidie, honorait un proxène de Gortyne,[46] ce qui confirme les liens entre la Crète et la Pisidie sur la longue durée.

Conclusions

Des groupes assez nombreux de colons crétois se sont donc installés en Pisidie au Sud du Taurus, en plusieurs vagues, sans doute dès l'époque archaïque, et ce jusqu'à l'époque hellénistique. Pourquoi les cités de Pisidie et du Sud du Taurus évoquées n'ont-elles pas revendiqué une origine crétoise mais lacédémonienne ? D'une part parce que les Crétois souffraient d'une très mauvaise réputation d'après Polybe :[47] pauvres, pirates, mercenaires, on décrit leur audace, leur agilité militaire, mais aussi leur duplicité (par des trahisons récurrentes) et leur cupidité (par appât du gain). D'autre part parce qu'il était bien plus prestigieux pour les cités du Sud de la Pisidie, pour partie originellement composées de Crétois, de revendiquer une origine péloponnésienne plus considérable, celle de Sparte. Selgè, Amlada, Sagalassos, et dans une moindre mesure Kibyra, ont ainsi préféré revendiquer une origine lacédémonienne par *syngeneia*, en invoquant donc leur parenté avec les vieilles populations du Péloponnèse. La *syngeneia* est la parenté, celle des anciennes généalogies transmises oralement, puis par écrit à partir de l'époque archaïque grecque, dans le sillage des chants homériques. La *syngeneia* est cette relation organique propre au *politeuma* et fondamentale dans la structuration des réseaux civiques coloniaux depuis l'époque archaïque grecque, dans le sens où l'émigration d'un fragment du corps civique d'une métropole suffisait à créer une colonie et à dupliquer la cité première dans un espace-temps. Un des exemples les plus célèbres de l'Antiquité grecque est certainement celui de la grande métropole ionienne de Milet, qui créa et sous-créa en quelque sorte organiquement près de 80 colonies ou sous-colonies, particulièrement entre le 7e et le 5e s. av. J.-C., surtout dans le Pont-Euxin. La colonie grecque était recréation, régénération de la métropole initiale, à l'aune de la conception cyclique traditionnelle des anciens Grecs. La *syngeneia* entre une métropole et sa colonie était directe ; dès la seconde génération coloniale, la *syngeneia* avec la métropole ou la région première devenait indirecte, mais restait absolument valide aux yeux des Grecs d'un point de vue organique, fondant pour la cité qui adoptait et/ou promouvait une légende originelle une légitimité historique hellénique. Dans l'esprit des anciens Grecs en effet, cette *syngeneia*, même indirecte et lointaine, n'en était pas moins performative en vertu du lien organique qu'elle représentait entre communautés helléniques sur le temps long depuis le début de

[45] Launey 1987, I : 277.

[46] Paluchowski 2008.

[47] Polybe IV, 53, 5 ; VI, 46, 2–5 et 9 ; 47, 5 ; VIII, 16, 4 et 6 ; 20, 2 ; XXXIII, 16, 4 ; Launey 1987, I : 260 et 286, n. 1.

l'époque archaïque, tout en remontant en fait à la fin de l'époque mycénienne, en rapport avec le Péloponnèse « originel » et notamment les descendants des Héraclides,[48] du Sud du Taurus à la Cilicie et à la Syrie du Nord. Ce domaine était bien sûr celui des mythographes des époques hellénistique et impériale qui ont confirmé ou infirmé des origines possibles du *politeuma*, du corps civique de la communauté grecque concernée, d'après les connaissances alors disponibles.

La réalité entretient toujours un dialogue intime avec la fiction. Pour Johannes Nollé, auteur du corpus épigraphique de Selgè paru en 1991, la généalogie lacédémonienne de cette cité est « fiktiv », mais nous avons vu que pour les Grecs la *syngeneia*, même indirecte avec une célèbre communauté guerrière déchue, valait reconnaissance et respectabilité en vue de se rattacher pour toujours à l'univers panhellénique. Certes, les colons grecs ayant fondé la cité provenaient plus de Crète que du Péloponnèse. Mais dans la pensée des anciens Grecs, la parenté généalogique, génétique, sanguine, ethnique, attestée par des sources historico-littéraires ou par un mythographe suffisaient pour se proclamer de l'essence même d'un autre groupe civique originel, assez précisément marqué géographiquement. La *syngeneia*, issue de la mémoire et de l'histoire, était considérée comme réelle, et elle l'était au moins en partie, dans cette optique archaïque et ethnique. Les colons grecs se sont volontiers mêlés dans des fondations civiques en Anatolie pour des raisons politiques, les armées royales hellénistiques multiculturelles et multiethniques en sont une cause. Cela semble avoir été le cas en Phrygie à Synnada, laquelle se revendique à la fois dorienne et ionienne : certains colons ont pu remonter les vallées fluviales principales, les Ioniens la vallée du Méandre vers l'Est, les Doriens les vallées du Kestros et de l'Eurymédon vers le Nord, pour converger en Phrygie Parorée avec leurs dialectes distincts. Certains groupes de colons étaient plus nombreux et plus influents, imposant leur mythographie au nouveau *politeuma* en cours d'élaboration (un terme d'ailleurs utilisé par certains groupes de mercenaires hellénistiques dans les inscriptions). L'origine légendaire « première » des métropoles civiques grecques de l'époque archaïque s'est ainsi reproduite, poursuivie ou complétée de manière quasi organique dans leurs colonies et leurs sous-colonies, par exemple pour Milet ou Mégare grâce à la mémoire populaire, ainsi qu'aux connaissances orales et écrites des mythographes des époques hellénistique et impériale.

À l'époque impériale romaine, lors d'un mouvement identitaire et mythico-historique remarquable aux 2e et 3e s. de notre ère, le panhellénisme s'est exprimé comme la conjugaison et l'articulation de plusieurs vastes réseaux qui lui donnèrent sa force, telle une lame de fond culturelle et politique. Dès l'époque de Trajan et Hadrien, deux synodes œcuméniques, sortes d'associations professionnelles « internationales », furent créés : l'un regroupant tous les technites et gens de théâtre sous le patronage de Dionysos et de l'empereur en tant que *Néos Dionysos*, l'autre agrégeant tous les athlètes de l'empire sous le patronage d'Héraklès et de l'empereur.[49] C'est ainsi que peuplées de « stars » très populaires et mobiles de l'époque, les caravanes des athlètes écumant les concours grecs (*agones*) et celles des artistes et gens de théâtre également dans des thiases locaux participant et organisant toutes les grandes fêtes, parcouraient les cités en étendant et en

[48] Concernant Rhodes, voir Malkin 1999, 55.

[49] Voir notamment Bru− Demirer 2007.

fédérant *de facto* les réseaux clientélaires, d'influence, au service de l'Empire. La création du Panhellenion par Hadrien en 131 généra des rapports supplémentaires entre les cités de *koina* et de provinces différents, entre cités riveraines du bassin égéen, notamment entre le Péloponnèse et l'Anatolie, ce qui renouvelait et réactualisait souvent d'anciens liens historiques directs ou indirects, cela autour d'Athènes, choisie par l'empereur comme centre.[50] Le culte impérial joua un rôle fédérateur, à l'échelle municipale dans les cités, mais surtout par les *koina*, juridictions régionales, historiques et culturelles du culte impérial supracivique et provincial, particulièrement autour des temples provinciaux d'Éphèse, de Smyrne, de Pergame et de Cyzique, cités néocores de la province d'Asie, ou autour du temple augustéen d'Ancyre concernant celle de Galatie et l'*hinterland* anatolien.[51] Les grands administrateurs de l'empire, l'empereur, les gouverneurs, les procurateurs et affranchis impériaux appartenaient tous à ces structures politico-religieuses, à l'intérieur desquelles les décisions se prenaient et influençaient directement la vie de l'empire territorial, des provinces et des cités. Au surplus, les réseaux d'intellectuels de la seconde sophistique comprenant des mythographes et des littérateurs/philosophes ont répondu aux attentes des influents groupes précités, dans le prolongement des traditions écrites et orales des époques hellénistique, classique et même archaïque.[52] En Anatolie et au Proche-Orient, le mouvement culturel panhellénique semble atteindre son acmé au III^e^ s. de notre ère, avec l'attestation documentaire (littéraire, épigraphique et numismatique) de près de 500 concours grecs dans tout l'empire romain vers 250 ap. J.-C., comme l'a montré Wolfgang Leschhorn,[53] non sans une inertie constatable au moins jusqu'aux 4^e^–5^e^ s. de notre ère (par exemple à Antioche de Syrie).

Grand notables, magistrats, prêtres et grands-prêtres furent influents et mobiles au sein des réseaux politico-religieux évoqués et innervant l'empire romain, surtout au sein de l'Orient hellénophone. Afin de jouer un rôle, d'assurer leur présence politique, religieuse, culturelle, sociale et économique, les cités cosmopolites et multiculturelles d'Anatolie qui ont graduellement intégré les indigènes hellénisés se devaient de fournir une sorte de « brevet d'hellénisme », de garantie culturelle sincère par une souscription au panhellénisme qui passait par la revendication des origines les plus prestigieuses : Athènes et Sparte. Tel était le moyen de légitimer la participation des ressortissants des cités « très grecques » (ou se voulant ainsi) aux puissants réseaux évoqués, lesquels représentaient autant d'interfaces avec le pouvoir central. C'est sur les réseaux de *poleis* que le pouvoir impérial asseyait sa domination par l'intermédiaire des réseaux clientélaires familiaux, politiques passant notamment par des associations cultuelles et professionnelles. À l'époque antonine, au sein d'un empire qui se voulait universel et grec, Trajan et surtout Hadrien ont créé les deux grands synodes œcuméniques et le Panhellenion, encourageant la tradition

[50] Spawforth− Walker 1985 ; Spawforth− Walker 1986 ; Veyne 1999. Concernant la chronologie, j'ajoute que la répression de la révolte de Bar-Kochba en Judée entre 132 et 135 par l'empereur Hadrien l'a possiblement incité à suivre de moins près les activités du Panhellenion, lesquelles furent ensuite soutenues sous le règne d'Antonin le Pieux, comme le prouve la documentation.

[51] Pour toutes les cités néocores de la province d'Asie, voir Burrell 2004, 17−146 ; 166−190 pour la Galatie et la Pamphylie.

[52] Voir notamment Bowersock 1969 ; Bru− Filippini 2016. On note que dans son discours *En l'honneur de Rome*, Aelius Aristide cite presque toujours ensemble Athéniens et Lacédémoniens, créant ainsi une polarisation de l'hellénisme autour des deux célèbres cités (*En l'honneur de Rome*, 9 ; 17 ; 43 ; 45, 47).

[53] Leschhorn 1998.

rhétorique des seconds sophistes et des discours panégyriques. La documentation présentée *supra* pour le Sud du Taurus montre que ce mouvement panhellénique s'est poursuivi sous Antonin le Pieux, Marc-Aurèle et Commode. À partir de Septime Sévère, l'empire gréco-romain parvenu à son apogée géopolitique mais connaissant une profonde période de crise militaire et financière, a célébré ses propres origines, d'abord celles de Rome par les jeux séculaires de 204 (sous Septime Sévère) et 248 (sous Philippe l'Arabe), ensuite celles de l'État impérial par des concours actiaques (ou isactiaques) rappelant sa source augustéenne,[54] cela en quête d'une légitimité historico-politique et culturelle. C'est dans ce contexte panhellénique, œcuménique, impérial et par essence universaliste qu'il convient de replacer la documentation identitaire lacédémonienne du Taurus méridional présentée ici, alors qu'un besoin de distinction mythico-historique émanait également des élites des cités, lesquelles répondirent au panhellénisme d'État promu par l'empereur Hadrien puis par ses successeurs. Les identités culturelles locales, notamment pisidienne et phrygienne, se sont manifestées au même moment que les aspirations panhelléniques, symboliquement par la langue écrite,[55] ou militairement par la vaste révolte isaurico-pisidienne de 278 sous Probus, qui s'est achevée par le dramatique siège de Kremna par le gouverneur romain de Lycie-Pamphylie Terentius Marcianus.[56] Tout cela se fit à mon sens en réaction à une profonde homogénéisation politique et culturelle qui fut celle de l'empire gréco-romain sur la longue durée.

Abréviations

CIG – *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
IC – *Inscriptiones Creticae*
IG – *Inscriptiones Graecae*
IGR – *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*
I.Selge – J. Nollé, F. Schindler, *Die Inschriften von Selge*, Bonn 1991.
LGPN VC – J.-S. Balzat, R. W. V. Catling, E. Chiricat, T. Corsten, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford 2018.
OGIS – *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*
RPC – *Roman Provincial Coinage*
SEG – *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SIG – *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*
SGDI – *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*

[54] Des *Megala Augusteia Aktia* eurent par exemple lieu à Ancyre d'après des monnaies de l'impératrice Salonina, sous Gallien (253–268), cf. Robert 1960, 366–367 ; Leschhorn 1998, 56. Des *Augusteia Aktia* se déroulèrent en Cilicie à Tarse vers la même époque (Mitchell 1993, I : 111, n. 71 ; Leschhorn 1998, 56). Au Proche-Orient pour les *Herakleia Aktia* de Tyr (Phénicie) et les *Dusaria Aktia* de Bostra (Arabie) au milieu du III^{e} s. entre Philippe l'Arabe et Gallien, voir Bru 2011, 229–237.

[55] Bru 2017, 226–257.

[56] Bru 2017, 297–299.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 169–176
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.012.21402
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

The Cult of the *oikist* in Hellenistic Age

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Abstract

In the Hellenistic age, when an intense colonisation process developed in which the rulers themselves played a fundamental role, the cult of the oikist still appears to be a vital and deeply rooted practice. This contribution examines some of the known cases (mostly relating to foundations of Alexander's diadochoi), in order to verify the role played by the sovereigns and poleis respectively in the establishment and survival of the cults in question.

Keywords: cult of the oikist, kings, poleis, Seleucus I, Lysimachus, Cassander, Demetrius Poliorketes, Ai Khanoum.

As it is well known, during the Hellenistic period, an intense colonisation process took place, mainly involving the new regions that Alexander the Great's conquests had opened up to Greek colonisation, but also involving areas previously occupied by the Greeks, such as Asia Minor, as well as the Greek peninsula itself.[1] Equally well known is that, compared to the colonisation of the Archaic age, this process presents both differences and aspects of continuity, among which—and this is the point I intend to focus on—the institution of cultic honours for the oikist. The known examples (which are enumerated both in a 1970 volume by Christian Habicht and in a 1986 work by Wolfgang Leschhorn specifically devoted to city founders)[2] are not particularly numerous: on the other hand, we must consider that the founders were very often the kings themselves, and it is not always easy to distinguish, in the veritable myriad of cults that the Greek cities of this period established in their honour, those reserved for them as oikists. I will obviously limit myself to considering only a few of them, trying, if possible, to derive indications of

[1] For an overview, see Briant 1998, 309–333.

[2] Habicht 1970; Leschhorn 1984, 202 ff., esp. 339–343.

the role played by cities and kings respectively in the establishment or survival of cults dedicated to oikists.

Many of these cases, as noted above, are rather uncertain and problematic. Consider, to begin with, that of the most famous foundation, Alexandria in Aegypt. That there was here from the beginning a cult dedicated to Alexander as founder, in addition to the dynastic one established by Ptolemy I, has been argued by Peter M. Fraser and certainly seems probable.[3] However, it must be considered that the only explicit testimony is that of a papyrus from the Hadrian's age referring to a priest of Alexander *ktistes* of the city, while other alleged clues are only hypothetical (an alleged reference recurring in *Dikaiomata*, from the mid-3rd century B.C., and the presence of a statue of Alexander *ktistes* in the Tychaion mentioned by Pseudo-Libanius).[4] The case of Ptolemais, the city founded by Ptolemy I in Upper Egypt, is also somewhat problematic, due to the difficulty of distinguishing between the various cults known. It is, however, widely believed that among the cults attested here from the late 3rd century onwards there was one dedicated to the city's founder, which is the only one, apparently, to survive when, with the Roman conquest, the dynastic cults of the Ptolemies disappeared.[5]

Compared to the Ptolemaic reign, as it is well known, the colonisation of the Seleucids was much more intense, particularly with the dynasty's progenitor, Seleucus I, to whom Appian, in a famous passage in the *Bellum Syriacum* (57) attributes the foundation of more than 30 cities variously named (and of some of these, in particular those of the so-called Tetrapolis of Syria, the foundation legends and alleged prodigies that allegedly accompanied and thus legitimised the *ktiseis* are also recorded).[6] On the cults dedicated to him as a founder, however, we have testimony in only a few cases, of which I will only point out the two most notable. The first is that of a city of Tetrapolis, Seleukeia in Pieria, which is mostly believed to have been the capital of the kingdom before its transfer to Antioch during the reign of Antiochus I (it is in fact defined *archeghetis kai hestia tes dynasteias* in Polybius, V 57, 4).[7] The news is again from Appian (*Bellum Syriacum*, 63): after Seleucus's death, we learn from the historian, his ashes were taken by his son to Seleukeia in Pieria and laid in a temple surrounded by a *temenos*, and the structure was called Nikatoreion. However, no other information is available on this cult. I do not believe that, as it has sometimes been claimed a reference to this cult can be found in an inscription from Seleukeia in Pieria from the time of Seleucus IV (*OGIS* 245),[8] which attests to the existence of a cult dedicated not only to Seleucus I (who is assimilated to Zeus Nikator), but also to his successors.

The other case is that of Dura-Europos, the city of Mesopotamia also founded, in all probability, by Seleucus I. It is true that Isidore from Charax (*Stathmoi Parthikoi*, 1), calls

[3] Fraser 1972, I: 212.

[4] See Fraser 1972, I: 212; II: 360–361, with references to the sources in question. On the testimony of Ps.-Libanius about a statue of Alexander *ktistes* in the Tychaion, see also Gibson 2007, 431–454.

[5] On Ptolemais: Cohen 2006, 350–351.

[6] On the alleged prodigies that accompanied the foundation of the cities of the Tetrapolis see, for example: App. *Syr.* 58 (Seleukeia in Pieria); Malalas 151.12–153.16 (Antioch); 153.17 (Laodikeia); 154. 19 (Apamea).

[7] On this problem see the different views that are set out in Cohen 2006, 129–130. See also Capdetrey 2007, 360, who thinks that under Seleucus I both Seleukeia in Pieria and Antioch served as capitals of the kingdom.

[8] In this sense, see Marasco 1983, 60.

it the polis of a Nikanor, but it is an accepted opinion that the name should be amended to Nikator; less likely appears the thesis (supported, among others, by Michael Rostovtzeff) according to which it refers to a Nikanor governor of Mesopotamia who is known from other sources.[9] There seems to be no doubt, in fact, about the existence, in this city, of a cult dedicated to Seleucus I as *ktistes*. Suffice it to recall firstly the mention of Seleucus at the base of a fragmentary statue found in the temple of Artemis, and then above all the testimony of a papyrus dating back to 180 AD (*P.Dura* 25), since it attests to the existence of a cult dedicated to Seleucus I that is distinct and separate from another reserved for the *progonoi*, i.e. the rulers of the ancient Seleucid dynasty. In addition, there is a Parthian-era relief (159 B.C.) found in the Temple of Gad depicting, besides the deity, two other figures, one of whom is depicted with a sceptre and diadem and, thanks to the underlying Aramaic inscription, can be identified with Seleucus Nikator. In short, at least in this case the existence of a founder's cult can be considered certain, and it is noteworthy that it survived both in Parthian times and in the subsequent period of Roman occupation of the site (which suggests that it must have been particularly rooted in the local community).

Apart from Ptolemy and Seleucus, other diadochoi are also known to have been active as city founders. As for Lysimachus, a cult dedicated to him as an *oikist* can probably be found in the city of which he was eponymous: I refer to Lysimacheia, which he founded in 309 at the north-western end of the Thracian Chersonese by means of a fairly frequent operation in Hellenistic *ktiseis* such as a synoikism between neighboring centres (in this case those of Kardia and Paktye).[10] This is derived once again from Appian (*Bellum Syriacum*, 64). To the anecdotes about Lysimachus' death also reported by other sources, the historian adds a further detail: the news that the body of the ruler, who had fallen in battle at Curupedion, had been recovered by his son Alexander and then was deposited by the Lysimacheians in their temple, that was named Lysimacheion.[11] That the testimony refers to the establishment of a cult of the city's founder seems quite evident, as well as that the initiative, unlike in the case of Seleukeia in Pieria, was taken by the citizens themselves, without any impulse from an external monarchical power. However, we are unable to say anything about the survival of this cult in the later stages of the history of Lysimacheia, which came under the rule of Ptolemy Keraunos and then under the rule of the Seleucids (and it may be recalled that in 196 it was practically refounded by Antiochus III, who, as a true oikist, rebuilt and repopulated it after the destruction the city had suffered at the hands of the Thracians).[12] Pausanias' report that in his time the *taphos* of Lysimachus between Kardia and Paktye was still visible (1.10.5) obviously does not authorize us to think that the cult established by the Lysimacheians was still in force.

Even in the case of another of the diadochoi, Cassander, the available evidence concerns the city of which he was eponymous, Kassandreia, founded in 316/5, as we learn from Diodoros (19.52.2), by a synoikism of Potidaea with some nearby towns and villages.[13]

[9] Kosmin 2011, 150–176; Rostovtzeff 1938, 99–107. On Dura-Europos: Cohen 2006, 156–169, with exhaustive bibliography.

[10] For the sources on the foundation of Lysimacheia: Cohen 1995, 84.

[11] On the anecdotes about Lysimachus' death: Landucci 1990, 118–126.

[12] On the repopulation of Lysimacheia by Antiochus III, see Livy 33.78.

[13] Meuss 2022, 349, who underlines Diodoros' interest in city foundations. On the synoikism of Kassandreia: Boehm 2018, 35–38.

One of these testimonies is actually rather dubious: I am referring to a decree from Kassandreia which attests land assignments and is dated with an eponymous *hiereus* (*Syll.*, 332) but, contrary to what has sometimes been claimed, nothing authorizes us to recognize the eponym as the priest of a cult dedicated to Cassander.[14] More significant is another testimony, which comes from a decree found in Kos, together with those of other cities in Macedonia (*IG*, XII, 1, 220): we read there that the *boule* of Kassandreia, at the suggestion of the *stratagoi* and the *nomophylakes* and with the approval of King Antigonus, accepts the request of the insular polis to grant *asylia* to the sanctuary of Asclepius and to welcome the announcement of the feasts in honor of the god.[15] Obviously I won't dwell on the indications that the inscription provides regarding a hotly debated problem such as that of the city's status in relation to the kingdom of Macedonia (that is, whether it is an autonomous polis or integrated into the kingdom).[16] I limit myself to pointing out a detail that interests us for the purposes of our discussion: among the various provisions contained in the decree there is one which provides that the theoroi of Kos who came to Kassandreia are invited to the *archegheteion* (*l.* 15). That there is a reference to a building which is intended for the cult of the founder (*archeghetes*) and which, apparently, has an important role in the city context (so much so that it is the place where foreign ambassadors are invited) is quite evident, and it is indeed a point on which there is a broad consensus (less likely appears the thesis that it was a center for the worship of Apollo Archeghetes).[17] The conclusion therefore seems clear enough: in Kassandreia there was a cult reserved for the founder that survived even with the advent of the Antigonids, despite their well-known hostility towards their predecessor and the veritable demonisation of his figure which, as has been pointed out, is due to their propaganda (one need only recall in this regard the speech of Demetrius Poliorketes to the Macedonians that is reported in Justin (16.1.9–17).[18] We have evidently to think—and it is an aspect that can speak in favor of the thesis of a relative autonomy of Kassandreia from the kingdom of Macedonia – that the memory of Cassander was particularly rooted in the local community, and this can be understood if we consider that, as we read in Diodorus (19. 52.2–3), the king had been very interested in the growth of the polis, assigning it a large and fertile territory and creating the conditions for it to become the most powerful city in Macedonia. His figure—and this is an element that is also found in other cases—was therefore assimilated to that of a true *euerghetes*.

We have some more information about another of the successors, Demetrius Poliorketes. Also, in this case there is reason to think that a cult dedicated to the founder existed in the polis of which Demetrius was eponymous (and in which he was buried by his son Antigonus): it is Demetrias, founded after 294 in Thessaly through the synoikism of a series of nearby cities, including Pagasai and Iolkos (Strab. 9.5.15).[19] Two epigraphic documents provide us with an indication in this regard. The first, a 3rd century decree, is usually attributed to Demetrias (*IG* IX, 2, 1099b), but, as has recently been suggested (and

[14] Cohen 1995, 97.
[15] On this decree: Rigsby 1996, 136–137.
[16] Landucci 2003, 99–103.
[17] Habicht 1970, 37–38.
[18] Landucci 2003, 84.
[19] Cohen 1995, 111–114.

indeed seems more likely), it may also have been issued by one of the cities incorporated as *komai* into the new polis.[20] In the text, provisions are made for a sacrifice and a feast in honour of the *archeghetai* and *ktistai*, and reference is made to a shrine that is dedicated to the *archeghetai.* On the paternity of the other decree (*SEG* 63, 399), also from the 3rd century, there is no doubt: it was enacted by the *demos* of Iolkos, one of the cities incorporated with the foundation of Demetrias, and, like the other one, contains provisions for a sacrifice to be made in honour of the *archeghetai* and *ktistai*, so that, we read in the text (*ll*. 5–6), "there will be no cause for wrath on the part of the heroes" (which evidently means that it is a heroic cult). Well, that among the cults reserved for the various oikists by the *komai* of Demetrias was also that of the founder of the new polis, Demetrius, seems a fairly safe conclusion. It is also noteworthy that the cities incorporated as *komai* into Demetrias had preserved the memory of their respective oikists, and that there seems to have been an integration between the old cults and that of the *archeghetes* Demetrius, with the establishment of a common feast and a common shrine. It can be remembered that this shrine has been proposed to be identified with a structure, the so-called *Heroon*, located on the hill above the theatre of Demetrias.[21]

But there is also news of another cult dedicated to Demetrius as founder, the one established in Sikyon when the Polyorketes, in 303, drove out the Ptolemaic garrison occupying it.[22] This is testified to by Diodorus (20.102.2–4), who gives a more extensive account than the rather concise one that occurs in other sources (including Plutarch's biography of Demetrius, 25.3). In addition to reporting that Demetrius convinced the people of Sikyon to move to a more inland and therefore more easily defensible site, the historian adds that he assisted the inhabitants of the city in building their houses and re-established *eleutheria* for them, so he received divine honours from those whom he had benifited: they called the city Demetrias (a choice that Plutarch, *Dem.* 25.3, attributes instead to the ruler himself), and they voted to celebrate sacrifices and public festivals and also games in his honour every year, and to grant him the other honours as a founder. That the initiative for the establishment of the cult was taken by the citizens themselves, as Diodorus states, seems certainly a reliable fact if one considers the peculiar cultic history of this polis, characterised by what can be described as a veritable inflation of oikistic cults. Already earlier, as we learn from Xenophon, (*Hell.* 7.3.12, who reports the affair with evident disappointment), the Sykyonians had dedicated similar honours to a figure that was less than exemplary (but evidently well-liked by the *demos*), the tyrant Euphron, who, after his murder by the oligarchs in 366, was buried in the agora and venerated as a founder of the city.[23] Later, in 213, they reserved a similar treatment for Aratus after his death in Egion: he, we read in Plutarch (*Arat.* 53.2–4), was buried in a place inside the city that was still called the Arateion in the biographer's time and received burial honours as an oikist, and a priest was instituted who was specifically charged with its worship.[24] As for the cult of Demetrius, it is unlikely to have survived until the introduction of the cult of Aratus. However, the fact that, as can be deduced from an epigraphic document

[20] Graninger 2011, 119–122.

[21] Stamatopoulou 2018, 356–357.

[22] On the refoundation of Sikyon by Demetrius: Cohen 1995, 126–128.

[23] On Xenophon's account of Euphron of Sicyon: Lewis 2004, 65–74.

[24] On the topographical location of the Arateion, see Paus. 2.8.1; 2.9.4.

(a treaty between Athens and Sikyon datable to 303/2: *SEG* 41, 50), the polis had already resumed its old name at the end of the 4th century does not necessarily mean that it had already ceased to exist at that time.

I will conclude by mentioning two cases, both uncertain and problematic, of cults that, like the one for Aratus, are dedicated to founders who are not kings. The first one is that of Themisonion, a city in Phrygia of dubious location which, according to a widespread thesis, was founded by a certain Themison of Cyprus, known to us as a favourite of Antiochus II.[25] If this attribution were valid (but it should be remembered that there are also other opinions on the matter), an account of Pithermus of Ephesus (*FGrHist* 80 F 1 in Athenaeus, 7.298f) could then point to the existence of a cult dedicated to him as oikist: in fact, the historian reports that, on the occasion of the feasts, Themison was hailed as the Heracles of King Antiochus and all *enchorioi* had to make sacrifices in his honour.[26] Needless to say, such a reconstruction remains largely hypothetical, because the connection between this Themison and the city of the same name is by no means certain. And yet it should be remembered that an albeit tenuous clue in this regard may be the tradition, reported by Pausanias (10.32.3), linking the Phrygian polis precisely to Heracles.

The other case is well known: I refer to Aï Khanoum, where a funerary structure from the beginning of the 3rd century (but with changes dating back to later periods) has long been identified and is generally interpreted as a *Heroon*; a stele placed by a Klearchos and containing a series of Delphic maxims allows it to be attributed to a certain Kineas.[27] I will not dwell on the various problems, often debated, which are connected to this monument, such as the identification of Klearchos (in whom Louis Robert recognized the famous peripatetic philosopher of Soloi, while for others he would simply be a member of the local community), and the chronology that can be attributed to the stele (which some recent contributions tend, less likely, to lower to the 2nd century BC. on the basis of a review of the chronology of ceramic material).[28] I limit myself to underlining a point on which there is a fairly broad (even if not unanimous) consensus: little doubt should exist that Kineas should be considered the oikist of the city and that his shrine was the place where a cult was practiced in his honor (just think to the presence of a conduit that linked it to un upper room and was evidently destined to receive cult offerings). We can say nothing for sure about this figure: Robert's hypothesis according to which he was a Thessalian commander in the service of Seleucus I or Antiochus I (just as the aforementioned Themison was in the service of Antiochus II) certainly appears more probable than others that have been proposed.[29]

And we come to some brief and summary conclusions. Already from the few examples taken into consideration, it is clear that in the Hellenistic age the cult of the founder

[25] On Themisonion: Cohen 1995, 325–326. For the view that identifies the founder of the city in the favourite of Antiochos II see, for example, Capdetrey 2007, 122. On the problem, see also Leschhorn 1986, 321–322.

[26] On Pithermus of Ephesus: Primo 2007, 139–149.

[27] On the shrine of Kineas and the stele there is an extensive bibliography. See, more recently, Rougemont 2012, 203–207; Frölich 2013, 245–247; Mairs 2014, 103–128; Boffo 2017, 101–105.

[28] For the identification of the Klearchos mentioned in the stele with th philosopher Klearchos of Soloi see Robert 1968, 443 ff., and, more recently, Verhasselt 2022, 531 ff.; for another opinion, see Narain 1987, 277–278. On the chronology of the stele see Lerner 2003/4, 395, who proposes to lower it to the first decades of the 2nd century BC.

[29] For this hypothesis: Robert 1968, 434–438.

is still particularly vital, and spreads even to peripheral areas, such as Bactria, which only with the conquests of Alexander the Great were affected by the penetration of the Greek presence. In the birth and survival of these cults, the kings, who are the builders of most of the new foundations, do not play an exclusive role, A far from negligible role, it seems, is also played by the poleis, which in some cases either established the cults themselves or ensured their survival even after the disappearance of the dynasties to which the founder belonged (just think in fact to Kassandreia or to the cities where the cult of the oikist remained in force even in Roman times). And this is a further confirmation of the fact that, as is now widely recognized compared to the past, in the Hellenistic age the polis is still a very vital organism.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 177–193
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.013.21403
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Who Founded Paphos in Cyprus? Too Many *ktistai/oikistes* for a Double City

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To the memory of Paolo Garuti,
who introduced me to the stratigraphy
of mythical and biblical litterary texts.

Abstract

The city of Paphos is famous to have been the seat of the main sanctuary of Aphrodite in Cyprus and the capitale of the kingdom of Paphos in the Southwest part of Cyprus since the 8th to the 4th century BC. Written sources refer to four different *ktistes* as founders of the city: Paphos, Aerias, Kinyras and Agapenor as well as Kinyras. Then a new Paphos was built 15 km to the North-Ouest of the first city: scholars still debate about its *ktistes/oikistes*: was it Nikokles, last king of Paphos or Ptolemy, satrapus and then king of Egypt? The question of the *ktistes* of Paphos is a complex issue. We will try to see if there are not other candidates for the real creation of the new harbour city with its grid plan and its civic monuments in the Hellenistic period as well as for its revival after its destruction by severe earthquake at the beginning of the Roman Empire.

Keywords: *ktistes*, *oikistes*, Paphos, Palaepaphos, Nea Paphos, city foundation, mythical and historical founders and refounders, Aerias, Kinyras, Agapenor, Nikokles, Ptolemy I Sôter, Ptolemy VI Philometor, Ptolemy VIII Evergetes II, Augustus, Vespasianus.

Introduction[1]

At the end of the 1990's, when I was working on my PhD,[2] I had occasionally taken an interest in the problem of the founding of Paphos, which already particularly interested me (I carried out a diagnostic trench on the western rampart in July 1997), although I did not know at the time that I would one day set up an archaeological mission there! I had of course been struck by the many individuals to whom the founding of Paphos was attributed, the contradictions between the different authors, and in particular the confusion between the two sites of old and new Paphos. It seemed impossible to me to give any historical credibility to these accounts, and I had given up on using them. Reading the unfinished and still unpublished text that Jean Bérard had written in 1953–1954, published in the dossier devoted to him in the *Cahiers du Centre d'Études Cypriotes* in 2008,[3] made me understand that I had been quite right: my illustrious predecessor in Paphos had already outlined the essence of what could be said about these stories. My purpose here is not to return to Bérard's reflection on "la colonisation grecque de Chypre et la date de la guerre de Troie," the historiography of which is extensive, however this conference on the *ktistai* gives me the opportunity to return to the question of the founding of Paphos. Far be it for me to give more credit to any particular mythical *oikiste*, but to try to determine which historical figure could have founded the new Paphos. So, after recalling the literary and archaeological antiquity of Paphos, I will return to the stories evoking the different mythical founders of Paphos and then question a problem which is still debated today: the identity of the founder of the new Paphos.

Paphos, from the sanctuary to the double city

Paphos is mentioned for the first time by Homer in the *Odyssey* (8.363): it is said that Paphos was the place "where the goddess had her sanctuary and an altar perfumed with incense." So she was then called the *Cyprogenia* or the Paphian goddess. In fact, "Herodotus is the first Greek author to call her Aphrodite *Paphia*"[4] but she is already considered to be linked to Paphos in the Archaic period: Sappho, Alcman were already mentioned her sanctuary in Paphos according to Strabo. It is only in Roman times that Paphos was described as her birthplace.[5] For this, Paphos, situated in the southwest of the island of Cyprus, was famous throughout the ancient Mediterranean world.

A place of worship is attested at the first site which was called Paphos (modern Kouklia) (**Fig. 1**) where archaeological research has established that Cypriots had venerated a fertility

[1] I would like to sincerely thank the organisers of this fascinating conference, in particular Professor Edward Dąbrowa, for their invitation and for giving me the opportunity to return and develop this subject. I am very grateful to Anthea Garrod who corrected my English.

[2] *Fortifications et défense des territoires de Chypre de l'époque archaïque aux invasions arabes (VIIIe s. au VIIe s. de n. è.)*, Université de Provence, Aix-en-Provence, 1999 (unpublished).

[3] Bérard 2008.

[4] Karageorghis 2005, 9.

[5] Pomp. Mela, *de chorographia* 2.7; Tac., *Hist.* 2.3; Nonnos de Panapolis, *Dionysiaca* 13.456–458; 41.117–118.

goddess since the 16th BC. This is confirmed by female figurines and other offerings found in the immediate vicinity, dating to the early third millennium BC: the temenos or holy precinct was well established before the first structures were erected in the Late Bronze Age.[6]

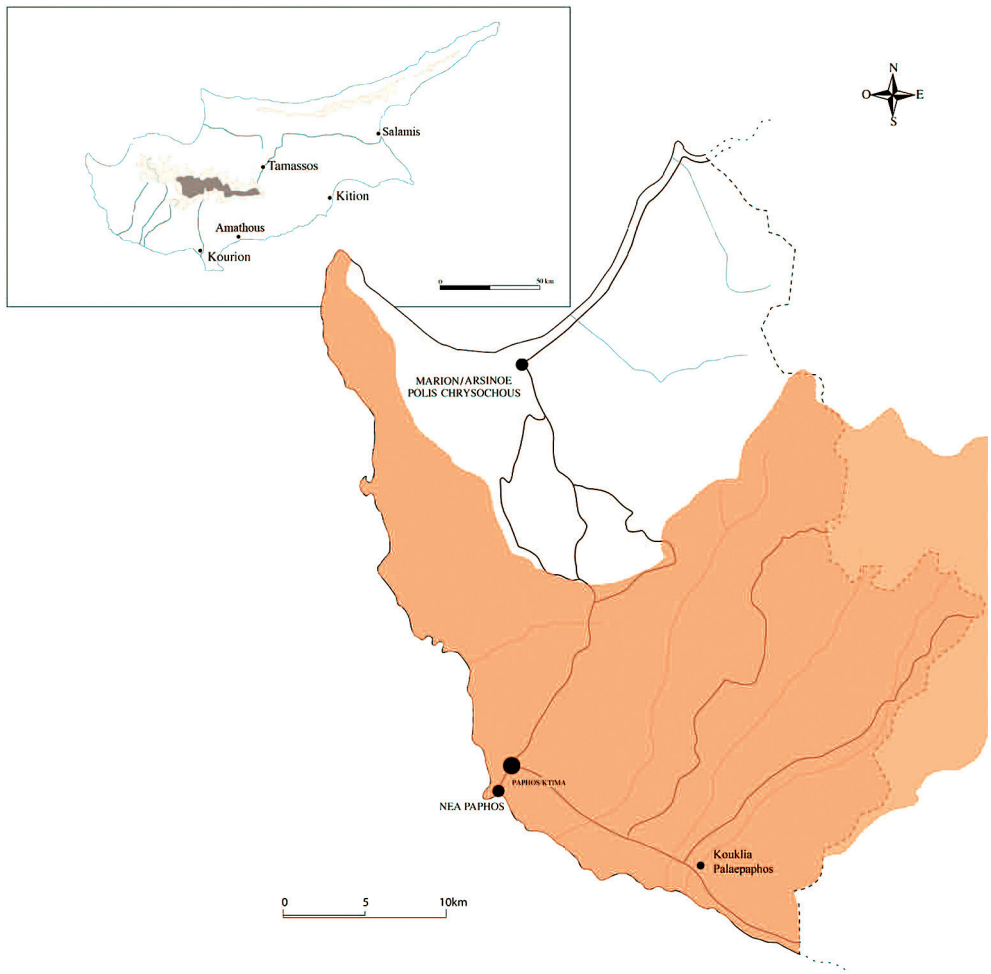

Fig. 1. The localisation of Palaia and Nea Paphos

The religious role of the Cypriot rulers in the Archaic and Classical periods is primarly attested in the inscriptions from Paphos, where various local *basileis*, especially Nikokles, the last Cypriot king of Paphos, are designated as priests of the goddess, the *wanassa*, the "Lady Queen" and ancient writers also correlate the founding of the city with the birth of the sanctuary as we will see. The problem is that two places were known as Paphos.

[6] Maier – Karageorghis 1984.

Until the end of the 4th century BC, the capital of the Paphian kingdom was located at (old) Paphos, modern-day Kouklia. In the Hellenistic period, a new harbour and then a city, were established 15 km to the northwest, at modern day Kato Paphos, in the south-west corner of the island, but the sanctuary of Aphrodite remained at Kouklia. For several centuries after the foundation of the new city, the name "Paphos" was used to indicate both Old Paphos (Kouklia) and New Paphos (Kato Paphos); not until the Roman period did it become standard practice to add the epithet 'Palaia' or 'Nea' to the name when dealing with Old Paphos or New Paphos. In fact, the first evidence of the distinction made between the two sites occurred on an inscription, a honourary decree, which distinguished the old Paphos (ἐν Παλαιᾶι) and Paphos (ἐν Πάφωι).[7] Already in antiquity it was source of confusion, as we can see in Strabo's *Geography* (14.6.3 = C 682 Radt). Strabo, starting his description of the coast from Curium towards the west, wrote:

> At any rate, Curium is the beginning of the westerly voyage (…) immediately one comes to a promontory, whence are flung those who touch the altar of Apollo. Then to Treta, and to Boosura, and to **Palaepaphus, which last is situated at about ten stadia above the sea, has a mooring place, and an ancient temple of the Paphian Aphrodite**. Then to the promontory Zephyria, with a landing place, and to another Arsinoe, which likewise has a landing place and a temple and a sacred precinct. And at a little distance from the sea is Hierocepis. Then to **Paphus** (…) **It is sixty stadia distant from Palaepaphus by land**. (trans. H. C. Hamilton, W. Falconer).

So, we have a double question to answer: who is the *oikistes* of ancient Paphos and who is the *oikistes* of new Paphos?[8]

Which *oikistes* for (Palai) Paphos? Four mythical kings

Paphos and Kinyras

The name of the city itself, Paphos, is difficult to explain: only a scholia to Dionysius Periegetes (also known as Dionysos of Alexandria), who lived at the time of the emperor Hadrian (117–138) refers to a man bearing this name, an eponymous character: "Kephalos, son of Pandion and Hersè settling in Asia, had two children, Aoôs and Paphos; the latter went to this town and founded it. His son, Kinyras owned the island as well as the Phoenician Pygmalion whose girl, Thymareté, was married by Kinyras" (509; p. 450 GGM II). This single mention is also quite strange since it says that Paphos founded a city which was already there. This is probably linked to the time when this text was written, under the Antonine dynasty: Paphos had already been rebuilt at different times after severe earthquakes.

This Kinyras, according to another tradition is considered to be a indigenous founder-king: he is the proverbially wealthy Kinyras, already mentioned by Homer (*Iliad*, 11.19–23)

[7] Cayla 2018, 199, n°75.

[8] The word *ktistes* being used much more in late Hellenistic and Roman times, I prefer the word *oikistes* to designate the founders of these two cities, even if *ktistai* could eventually have been used for the king who decided to give a proper urbanscape to Nea Paphos... a long time after its birth as we will see.

for his gift (a corselet) to Agamemnon. So, this founder-king is linked to the Trojan war, but he did not participate in it.

In his second *Pythian* ode, written in 470 or 468 BC, Pindar said that Kinyras was a priest of Aphrodite but did not specify whether he was Cypriot. However, the scholia on this second Pythian poem declare: "this Kinyras from who the Kinyrades are descended (?) to the goddess in Cyprus." A few decades after Pindar, Herodotus (1.105.2–3) wrote that the temple of Aphrodite in Paphos was founded from the temple of Aphrodite Ourania in Ascalon: Kinyras was then considered to be Phoenician or at least to be of oriental origin. The Ps.- Apollodoros wrote that he reigned over Syria and that his father, Sandacus, met his mother, Pharnacas, in Cilicia (*Bibl.* 3.14.3). Claude Baurain, who made a comprehensive study on the origins of Kinyras and the evolution of his myth, remarks that "une fois Kinyras admis comme fondateur du culte paphien, l'évolution qui s'ensuivit était prévisible: reconnu à un moment donné comme le principal centre cultuel d'Aphrodite dans l'île, Paphos fut considérée comme une création de Kinyras."[9] Indeed, according to the Ps.-Apollodoros "Kinyras brought inhabitants to the island of Cyprus, he built Paphos (ἔκτισε Πάφον)," where he married Métharmè, the daughter of the "king of the Cypriots" Pygmalion, (*Bibl.* 3.14.3). It is well known that the main source of Ps.-Apollodoros, who wrote his compilation of myths around 200 AD, was Pherecydes of Athens, a mythographer who lived in the 5th century BC. A few decades later, Plato even considered that he was "a fabled king of Cyprus, son of Apollo and priest of Aphrodite" (*Laws* 2.660e).

King Aerias

Later, it seems that other myths were recorded: at the end of the 1st century AD, Tacitus speaking of the sanctuary of Paphos that Titus had visited during his trip to Syria in 69 AD, mentions two founders of the temple: he wrote that a "recent tradition reports that the temple was consecrated by Kinyras," but he also traced a more ancient origin: "The founder of the temple, according to ancient tradition, was king Aerias. Some however say that this was the name of the goddess herself" (*Hist*., 2.3). Tacitus repeats this version in his *Annals* (3.62.5), saying that the Cypriots claim that "the oldest shrine (in Cyprus) had been built by Aerias and dedicated to Venus of Papho.'" Jacqueline Karageorghis explains:

> there is no mention of this king Aerias in any other source, but according to the Greek lexicographer Hesychius, who lived in the 5 c. AD, Aerias was an ancient name for Cyprus. This name perhaps derives from the root of the Latin word for copper, *aes*, *aeris*, Aerias would be the equivalent of Kypros, the name of an eponymous hero who gave his name to the island according to some rare sources. And *Kypris*, of course, is another name of the goddess, by which she was known to Homer.[10]

Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge specifies, refering here to Hesychius (s.v. Ἀερία; Latte, I, p. 50):

[9] Baurain 1980, 288.

[10] Karageorghis 2005, 14 and also Baurain 1980, 289–290. Also, we have to note that in some mythologies (mostly recent), Kinyras is also associated with metallurgy (a divinity or semi-divinity): Pliny (*NH* 7.57) asserts that Kinyras "son of Agriopas" invented tiles and copper mining, as well as tongs, hammer, crowbar and anvil.

> Sur base de l'affirmation qu'il s'agirait du nom de la déesse, certains y ont vu une référence à la localisation de l'autel en plein air. D'autres ont tiré parti de la leçon *Uranium* d'un manuscrit des *Histoires* pour débusquer Aphrodite *Ourania* derrière le roi Aerias, mais la forme Aerias se retrouve comme telle dans les *Annales*. La seule référence ancienne comparable est tardive et fait d''Αερία un des noms de Chypre, à côté d'autres lieux rebaptisés de la même manière.[11]

According to Ronald Syme, the source of Tacitus to write his *Annals* was the *acta senatus* which recorded the audiences granted by the Senate; so the Cypriots themselves, to defend the right of asylum of their sanctuaries, may have advanced this tradition which underlined the antiquity of the sanctuaries of Venus in Paphos and Amathous and of Zeus in Salamis.[12] So, according to Pirenne-Delforge, "l'*Aerias* de Tacite illustrerait une tradition locale à laquelle il accorde le crédit d'une *uetus memoria*, en attribuant à la 'vulgate' mettant Cinyras en scène celui d'une *fama recentior*."[13]

There is, however, the apparently conflicting tradition of another founder-king of Paphos, of Greek origin: Agapenor.

Agapenor, king of Tegea

Indeed, according to Strabo and Pausanias, the city would have been founded by Agapenor, king of Tegea, chief of the Arcadians, after he left Troy. Pausanias reports Agapenor's *nostos*:

> Agapenor, the son of Ancaeus, the son of Lycurgus, who was king after Echemus, led the Arcadians to Troy. After the capture of Troy the storm that overtook the Greeks on their return home carried Agapenor and the Arcadian fleet to Cyprus, and so Agapenor became the founder of Paphos, and built the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos. (*Per.* 8.5.2)

Underlying the fact that the sanctuary of Aphrodite was at the "old Paphos," Pausanias clearly distinguishes between the two sites of Paphos and seems to attribute the founding of the new Paphos to Agapenor. Already 150 years before him, Strabo, refering to Paphos in his description of the southwestern coast of Cyprus, underlines: "Paphus, which was founded by Agapenor, and has both a harbour and well-built temples. It is sixty stadia distant from Palaepaphus by land" (14.6.3). So, Strabo, who was writing in the 1st c. BC, had already made a clear distinction between the two sites of old and new Paphos. Since he attributes its foundation to Agapenor it means that for him, new Paphos was already founded "at the time of the Trojan War" to use an expression of Thucydides.

This explains why Bérard "avait essayé de résoudre les problèmes liés à la légende de fondation de Paphos par Agapénor, roi de Tégée"[14] and why, in 1952–1953, he tried to find Agapenor's city in Ktima and Kato Paphos (upper and lower town of modern Paphos) and did not focus his research in Kouklia (site of old Paphos). In fact, at the time of Strabo and then of Pausanias, (Nea) Paphos was such an important city, the seat

[11] Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 319–320.
[12] Syme 1958, 278–285.
[13] Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 319.
[14] Karageorghis 1968, 67.

of the Ptolemaic and then Roman administration on the island, that both authors thought that the myth was referring to it, forgetting that a much older city had existed close to the sanctuary of Aphrodite. Incidentally, the archaeological evidence confirms that the site of the new Paphos was not settled before the 5th c. BC.[15] Moreover, the sanctuary of Palaepaphos had existed since the Late Bronze Age, long before becoming the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Classical times, and it probably attracted the first inhabitants, at least the first necropoleis around it, in the 13th c. BC.

Paphos (Palaipaphos) is one of the most ancient cities in Cyprus, if not the oldest capital of the kingdoms into which the island was divided from the 7th century BC onwards. Indeed, it was already in existence in the Late Cypriot II. According to Einar Gjerstad the other cities were created later, and the archaeological results show that he was right. Except for Palaepaphos, the sites of the cities were not occupied before the Late Cypriot III B (1200–1050 BC). Indeed, following A. Evans' theory, the Swedish archaeologist distinguished two different waves of colonisation and then considered that these stories of their foundation had to be linked with the second phase of colonisation.[16]

In consequence, Agapenor was not the founder but the refounder of Paphos![17] Therefore, Gjerstad concluded that the two traditional myths of the creation of Paphos by Kinyras or Agapenor were not contradictory.[18] It is the reason why, following this idea, Franz Georg Maier and Vassos Karageorghis estimated that Kinyras

> obviously represents the pre-Greek population of Cyprus, thus the two traditions are not necessarily mutually exclusive. This has now been confirmed by archaeology. The British and the Swiss-German excavations at Palaepaphos since 1950 have shown that there is an element of historical truth in both foundation legends. A considerable Late Cypriote settlement existed from the 15th century B. C., while Achaean Greeks settled there at the time of the great migrations in the 12th century BC.[19]

Recently, an interesting attempt was made by Theodoros Mavrogiannis to explain the link between Tegea in Arcadia and Paphos, both cities of which Agapenor was supposed to be the king.[20] I translate here:

> However, the most important evidence of the "historicity" of the tradition of Agapenor in Cyprus, which must have been alive in the Palaepaphos of the Archaic and Classical times, regardless of whether it actually corresponds to the Late Bronze Age or not, is a famous epigram recorded in the *Peplos*, the cycle of funerary epigrams of the Homeric epics that was wrongly attributed to Aristotle.[21] This epigram certainly copies an inscription that must have been placed in a contemporary position on the "tomb" of Agapenor in Palaepaphos, so that it would also be legible, since the text

[15] Młynarczyk forthcoming.

[16] Gjerstad 1944a; Gjerstad 1944b, followed by Karageorghis 1968, 66–67. For a detailed approach *to* the foundation legends in Cyprus, see A. Cannavò, *Histoire de Chypre à l'époque archaïque : analyse des sources textuelles*, thèse de l'Université Lyon 2 and Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa 2011, and for a summary of the historical studies on this subject, see Cannavò 2012.

[17] Fourrier 2008, 110.

[18] Gjerstad 1944b, 110–112.

[19] Maier – Karageorghis 1984, 51, 79.

[20] Mavrogiannis 2013, 109–112.

[21] Indeed, the *Péplos* from Aristotles gives a funerary pseudo-epigram of Agapenor *(Anth. lyrica*, 30 Hiller-Crusius, p. 368).

was destroyed. With all due caution, although the epigram "speaks" of a tomb, we should consider that there was a monument in honour of Agapenor in Palaipaphos.[22]

Even if Agapenor was "only" a creation of a Homeric poet, it is interesting to realise that he has a monumentalised tomb, exactly as an archegete of the city. If a cenotaph of Agapenoros had once existed, could it be the tomb which was brought to light by Maria Iacovou inside the monumental mausoleum she discovered on the site of old Paphos, at a place called *Laonas*?[23] We shall see that there are other candidates for this monument.

Anyway, knowing that Strabo used Eratosthenes from Alexandria to write his *Geography*, the first mention to the foundation of Paphos by Agapenor could be not older than the 3rd century BC. As V. Pirenne-Delforge remarks: "il est malheureusement impossible de prétendre que cette tradition puisait à la source des *Nostoi* de l'épopée plutôt qu'à celle de l'érudition alexandrine. Par voie de conséquence, il est délicat d'évaluer son degré d'ancienneté."[24]

Today, most scholars agree to not consider these myths as an absolute historical memory of the past, but as etiological stories, written at different times.[25] One can say that these stories are composed of different layers, like an archaeological stratigraphy made of written layers. Even if Kinyras and Agapenor are characters already existing in Homer's poems, the mention of the foundation of Paphos by them are late creations, like other myths of the foundation of the main cities of Cyprus: they are myths of identity construction. The first versions, written probably in the 5th or 4th c. BC, can be interpreted in different ways: according to some scholars, their authors tried to justify the aim of the Greeks, mainly the Athenians, to "free" Cyprus from Persian rule; others think that they were eventually created by the Cypriot kings themselves to strengthen their position in a changing world at the end of the 4th century BC. So, these stories again changed when they were recorded by Alexandrian writers or Athenian and Roman ones in Hellenistic and Roman times.

In this perspective, the story of Kinyras, as detailed by Ps.-Apollodoros is very interesting since one can easily see the Ptolemaic influence behind it: in this story, Kinyras is the link between all the Ptolemaic possessions in the Eastern Mediterranean: Syria-Phoenicia, Cilicia and Cyprus. So, Pherecydes of Athens is probably not the only source of Ps.- Apollodoros. Kinyras'myth was probably enriched in the 3rd century BC. In the 2nd century BC, the Ptolemies had lost all these possessions except Cyprus by which time Paphos had become the seat of Ptolemaic power: so, it is not surprising to learn from the Greek historian Ptolemy of Megalopolis, who lived at that time, that people thought that Kinyras and his relatives were buried in Paphos, in the sanctuary of Aphrodite (161 F 1 J). One can even wonder whether the mausoleum recently discovered by Iacovou, that we have already mentioned,[26] was Kinyras'cenotaph if not Nikokles'one.

At the beginning of Roman rule on Cyprus, under the reign of Augustus and later, of Hadrian, writers refers to Agapenor and not to Kinyras as founder of Paphos. At their

[22] Mavrogiannis 2013, 110.

[23] Iacovou 2017; Iacovou 2022.

[24] Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 317.

[25] After Baurain 1989; see Fourrier 2008; Cannavò 2011; Christodoulou 2014.

[26] See note 21.

time, when Rome tries, since Virgil, to link Rome to Troy, it is clear that Agapenor is a better reference than Kinyras, to whom Homer refers only to say that he did not contribute to the Trojan war.

Following Panos Christodoulou, it is clear that the Cypriot kings, and possibly also the Macedonian ones (the Diadochoi, Antigonids and Ptolemies in Cyprus) "mobilisaient plusieurs stratégies afin d'assurer leur place en Méditerranée orientale";[27] however the elements added during the phases of recent rewriting of these myths were not only a means, for the cities, to exist within the new world in which they were now to blend, whether Hellenistic or Roman, but also a real political tool, in the same way as monetary minting, for their kings.

The reference to ancient and prestigious ancestors was a way of trying to fight and defend their positions against the new powers: as far as Paphos is concerned, it was, first of all, for Nikokles, a way of asserting himself in the face of growing pretensions of Ptolemy, then for the Lagids a means of asserting their power against the Seleucids and the Antigonids, even against Rome and, finally, for the Romans to be accepted by the Cypriots by linking these prestigious ancestors to their own founding legends. This explains that different characters appear between the Archaic and early imperial times as founders of the same city… even if it was a double one!

From myths to history: Nikoklès, Ptolemy Sôter, Antigonus and the others…

Leaving the mythological kings and coming to historical facts, no one is historically recorded as king of Paphos before the 7th century BC. It is very late if one considers that the city of Paphos probably already existed in the Late Bronze Age and was already founded in the 13th c. BC and eventually refounded in the 11th c. BC. Indeed, the first historically attested king of Paphos known to us appears in the inscription of the prism of Assarhadon set in Nineveh in 673/2. His name is Eteandros.[28] A list of kings of Paphos has been reconstructed by Anne Destrooper-Georgiades thanks to her study of the mint of Paphos.[29] The last one is Nikokles, the last king of the dynasty of the Kinyrades, who ruled Paphos from ca. 325 to 310/9 the year when he died.

This "Achaean" origin is surprisingly absent from the inscription by which Nikokles, the last Cypriot king of Paphos, nevertheless voluntarily recalls his heroic ancestry: he recalls that he is descended from Kinyras, but does not mention Agapenor at all, which can be surprising at the end of the 4th century but can also be explained as we will see.

Indeed, on an inscription found in Nicosia in the Bedestan, there is a dedication to the Paphian in her sanctuary of Ledra.[30] As king of Paphos, Nikokles therefore insists on his role as priest of the *wanassa*, the goddess, prerogative of the Kinyrades dynasty from which these kings of Paphos claimed to descend. Baurain rightly notes that it is

[27] Christodoulou 2014, 199; see also Fourrier 2008, 4–5.

[28] Urio, 1975.

[29] Destrooper-Georgiades 2000; Destrooper-Gregoriades 2005.

[30] *SEG* 20.114.

only from the Hellenistic period, therefore after the disappearance of the kingdoms, that a group of Kinyrades is attested (surprisingly not before) who are responsible for the cult of the goddess, as well as an *archos* of the Kinyrades.[31] Whatever the origin of this group of priests of the goddess, it is interesting to note the fact that Nikokles chose, as his ancestor and *oikistes* of his royal city, a king who was not Greek, like Agapenor, but a local one, Kinyras, who was even said to have been king of Cyprus and was, in these ways, more useful to face Ptolemy's (presence?) on the island.

A historical *ktistes* of Nea Paphos: but who?

Nikokles or Ptolemy, satrap of Egypt?

Is Nikokles the founder of the new Paphos, as it is commonly claimed? Or does he re-assert himself as king of his territory? He has indeed much to fear from the presence of the satrap of Egypt: the latter had first requested him in 321, in the same way as other kings of coastal kingdoms and Nikokles had actually helped him fight against Perdiccas by giving him a fleet which tends to suggest that the port of the new Paphos was already created.[32] On the one hand, can we consider Nikokles as the founder of the new Paphos? On the other hand, why would Nikokles have given the same name to a new city when the seat of his kingdom had such an evocative name across the Mediterranean, linked to the cult of Aphrodite?

The *communis opinio* affirms that Nikokles was indeed the *ktistes* of the new Paphos by estimating that the inscription, discovered in re-use in the sanctuary of Aphrodite, in which Nikokles is honoured for having endowed the city with a crown of tall towers, refers to the new city.[33] I have tried to show elsewhere[34] that, from my point of view, this inscription cannot refer to the new Paphos since the city had not yet emerged from the ground under his reign (he is supposed to have died in 310/09) and that recent archaeological data has shown that the city wall attributed to him dates in fact from the 2nd century BC at the earliest.[35]

Above all, even if Nikokles had not been the originator of the ramparts of the new port city, we could continue to think that he was the *ktistis* of the city: however, there is no archaeological evidence to support this. The oldest built monument is the theatre, dated +/- 300 BC. Nikokles is therefore very likely the founder of the new port, but not of the city itself: his city was Paphos, the seat of the sanctuary of Aphrodite and her Kinyrad ancestors whose port had gradually been blocked: he gave it a new one, on the very shores of his territory, a little further to the west. If there was a concentration, it was first

[31] Baurain 1980.

[32] Balandier 2014; Balandier 2020. According to Arrian, the harbour cities allied to Ptolemy brought him a fleet of 200 ships.

[33] Lastly, Körner forthcoming. For the inscription, see Cayla 2008, 123–124.

[34] Balandier 2018.

[35] Balandier, forthcoming.

formed naturally by the settlement of individuals near the anchorage which had been developed and built by Nikoklis. However, the city with its Hippodamian grid plan does not seem to be attributed to him.[36]

We must therefore look for another candidate for the founding of the new Paphos: As we have just said, the last king of Paphos was pushed to commit suicide by Ptolemy or assassinated by the latter's half-brother. At his request, Menelaos, was named *strategos* of the island. In 312, Ptolemy intervened a second time in Cyprus, facing Antigonus the One-Eyed and took control of the island, gradually eliminating almost all the Cypriot kings. Although Ptolemy was still only satrap of Egypt, an inscription found in Paphos[37] bears witness to the dedication of a statue of a naval engineer by "basileus Ptolemaios." If the *communis opinio* thinks that this inscription refers to Ptolemy II Philadelphus, Jean-Baptiste Cayla put forward an interesting hypothesis: this inscription could be earlier of Philadelphus's reign and even earlier of 305, the year in which Ptolemy proclaimed himself king in Egypt and in Cyrenaica, Cyprus and finally Syria-Phoenicia on the Paros marble; in this case, it means that Ptolemy presents himself as the successor of Nikokles on the throne of Paphos.[38]

Could Ptolemy therefore have founded the new city of Paphos? In another paper[39] I tried to show that from my point of view, Ptolemy, whether only satrap or king of Egypt in the last decade of the 4th century, had above all established a military colony and, if there had been a settlement, it must have been limited to the area around the port and should, strictly speaking, have been more of a *katoikia* than an urban foundation. It should also be noted that several foundations attributed to Alexander the Great were in fact originally only *katoikiai*. In this case, Ptolemy could therefore be considered as a *ktistis*.

However, we have already noted that the oldest monument of Nea Paphos, the theatre, a monument characteristic of the presence of inhabitants having a Greek culture, had been dated from the 3rd century BC.[40] We recognise that the dating, which is based only on a paleographic criterion, that of the style of the letters engraved on the seats of the theatre, is of course only relatively reliable. However, in the absence of stratigraphic details we must be satisfied with this. Most researchers thus affirm, without contradiction, that if Nikokles founded the city of Paphos, the first urban monuments were built at the time of Ptolemy forgetting that, between 306 and 294, the date currently recognised for the theatre, Ptolemy no longer had control of Cyprus since he had been driven out by Antigonus the One-Eyed and more precisely by his son Demetrios after the latter's siege and victory at Salamis.

[36] Balandier 2024; Balandier, forthcoming.

[37] Cayla 2018, n° 64, 188.

[38] Cayla 2016; Cayla 2018, 188.

[39] Balandier 2024.

[40] Barker 2016, 94.

Antigonus and Demetrios or Ptolemy Sôter, founders of Nea Paphos?

However, during the twelve years they had control of Cyprus, the Antigonids carried out significant construction in the coastal towns: this is what the excavations of both the port and the city wall have shown at Amathus,[41] as well as in Kition.[42] Today, not having further details, we are questioning who the initiators are of the reconstruction of the port of Marion (Latsi) and other coastal sites dating from the second half of the 4th century BC (on the Kormakiti peninsula, a town protected by a city wall with a harhour was identified in 1972 by a survey on the site of Palaeokastro) and elsewhere.[43] Nea Paphos could therefore have been founded by the Antigonids, especially if we recall that their interest in the island was above all determined by their desire to control the island's ports and the resources in ships and crews to better cope with the Ptolemaic thalassocracy. However, the occupation of the island by Ptolemy in 294 may also suggest that it was after this date the now Lagid sovereign was able to have the new city of Paphos built.

The recent excavations carried out in Paphos do not help us decide. In fact, the grid plan of the city is probably relatively late. The city wall, as has already been mentioned, dates from the 2nd century BC (as well as the first phase of the agora), and the grid plan seems to take into account its layout, making it probable that the two were designed together. Therefore, the founder of the town planning of the new Paphos cannot be either the last Paphian king, nor the founders of the Antigonid and Lagid dynasties.

Other Ptolemaic candidates for the foundation of Nea Paphos? Two kings for a new city

Several events seem to have contributed to Cyprus taking on a new strategic importance for the Lagids: firstly, the loss of Syria-Phoenicia, reconquered by the Seleucids, in 200/199. It was probably then, during the reign of Ptolemy (V) Epiphanes Eucharistos (204–180), that it was decided to move the seat of the *strategos*, the representative of the Lagid king on the island, from Salamis to the new Paphos. This decision may have been made by the king's ministers, Agathocles, Sosibios and Tlepomene, who assumed regency after the king's mother, Arsinoe III, was assassinated in 204.[44] It was appropriate to give the *strategos* a city worthy of the Ptolemaic power that he represented. If the grid plan and the first monuments of the city were envisaged by these same ministers or by Ptolemy V, once crowned pharaoh in Memphis in 196 and before his poisoning in 180, public monuments as important as the city-wall, the agora, the second phase of the theatre,[45] perhaps the creation of the gymnasium, are later: recent archaeological data dates them to the 2nd half of the 2nd century BC (**Fig. 2**). It was therefore at the earliest phase during the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor that they were erected. Recorded for posterity as

[41] Empereur – Kozelj 2018; Aupert – Balandier 2018, 252–259; Aupert – Balandier 2024.
[42] Callot – Fourrier – Yon 2022.
[43] Balandier 2014.
[44] Remember that the guardianship of the king was even entrusted to the Roman Senate!
[45] Barker 2016, 94: "major makeover of the building."

a king-builder (Cato had qualified him as "*rex optimus et benefissimus*"), did Ptolemy Philometor mainly work on the construction of monuments in Egypt or could he also have been the instigator of urban planning works in Cyprus? Does that make them the *ktistes* of the new Paphos?

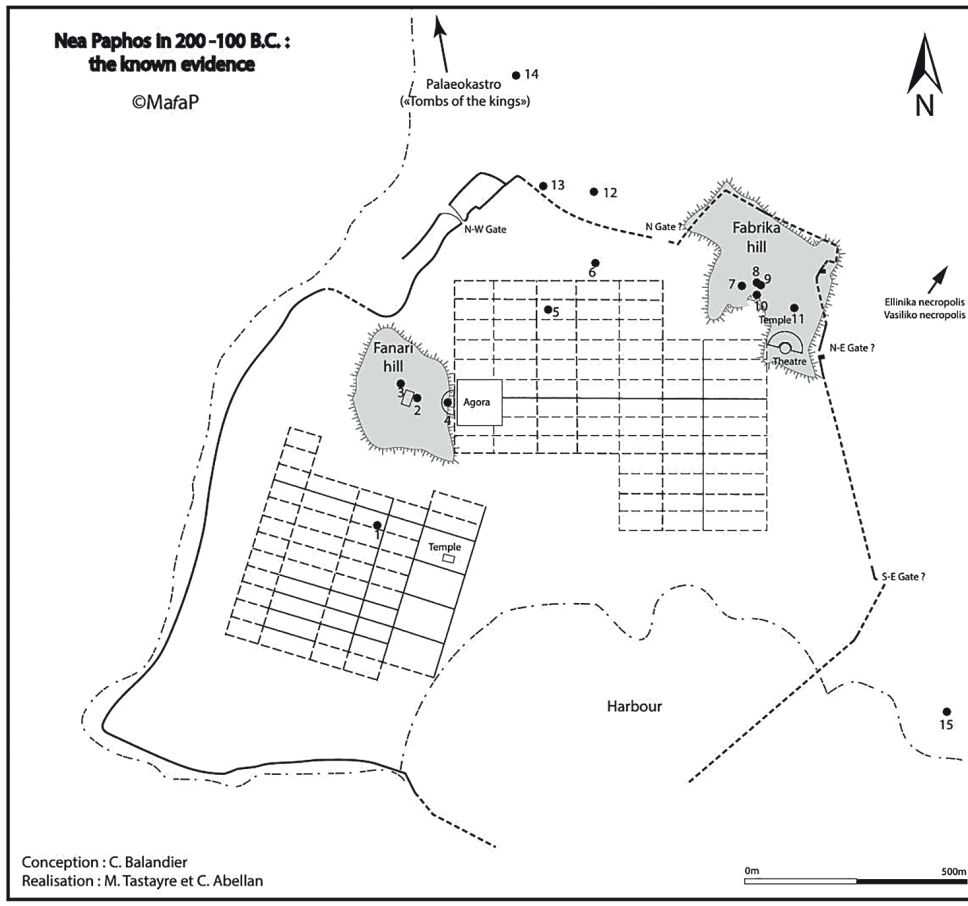

Fig. 2. The known monuments of Nea Paphos in 200–100 BC

Remember that Ptolemy VI Philometor began to govern with his brother Ptolemy VIII Evergetes II, co-king from 170 to 163 and that the latter succeeded him on the throne after his death in Syria, in 145,[46] remaining on the throne until 116 BC. Thus, if Ptolemy VI is perhaps at the origin of the establishment of the city and therefore of the grid plan of the new seat of his representative in Cyprus, then the very construction of the civic monuments including the city-wall, the agora and the reconstruction of the theatre (archaeologically dated to the second half of the 2nd century BC) can therefore hardly have been carried out during his reign, but rather under that of his brother, Ptolemy VIII. It was during the latter's reign that the Lagid fleet was forced to leave the Aegean Sea and assemble in Cyprus. The *strategos*, who was also the archipriest of the island, then received the title of admiral of the Ptolemaic fleet, Paphos then becoming the main naval base of the Lagids. Thus, after 142, the new Paphos, the Ptolemaic administrative seat on the island, developed in the same way as the capital of the Ptolemaic kingdom. As a small Alexandria it may have been established with its grid plan and monuments in stages, during the reigns of the two brothers Ptolemy VI and VIII, eventually both *ktistai* of Nea Paphos.

Later Roman *ktistai*? Emperors who financed the reconstructions of Paphos

At the end of this long journey from the mythical founders of ancient Paphos to the builders of the new Paphos, we can expand our reflections on the notion of *ktistes* at the beginning of the Empire. Indeed, following the accession of Octavian to the Empire and of Cyprus to the rank of senatorial province, the island was shaken by violent earthquakes, the most catastrophic of which was the one which occurred in 15 BC. It is reported by Dio Cassius (54.23.7)[47] who expressed the request of the Cypriots to thank the emperor for having given them his support in rebuilding their city, and henceforth call their city *Paphia Augusta*.

Likewise, following other imperial largesses, those of Vespasian in the aftermath of the violent earthquake that occurred in 76 AD which destroyed several Cypriot cities, Paphos was renamed *Augusta Claudia Flavia Paphos*, commemorating the role of refounder of the first of the Flavian emperors. This name appears in an inscription dated from the reign of Antoninus inscribed on a fragment of a white Proconese marble architrave unearthed in the theatre of Paphos.[48] This is a dedication by the "sacred metropolis *Augusta Claudia Flavia Paphos*" to Zeus Capitolinus, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius of a new stage building of the theatre, heavily damaged following another earthquake.

Thus, the Roman emperors, through their zeal in rebuilding the new Paphos, destroyed several times by violent earthquakes, are perceived by the inhabitants as the worthy

[46] In 145, Ptolemy VI Philomètor fought alongside the Seleucid sovereign Demetrios II against the usurper of his throne Alexander Balas. At this time, he was ruling Egypt alone as his brother had become king of Cyrenaica in 163.

[47] "Παφίοις τε σεισμῷ πονήσασι καὶ χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο καὶ τὴν πόλιν Αὔγουσταν καλεῖν κατὰ δόγμα ἐπέτρεψε": "the inhabitants of Paphos, victims of an earthquake, received from him (Augustus) largesse in money and permission to call their city *Augusta*, by virtue of a senatus-consulte."

[48] *SEG* 52.1496 and Cayla 2018, 88, no. 120, 244–246.

descendants of the mythical founders: the city is no longer just the seat of the Kinyrades or descendants of the Arcadian hero Agapenor, it found new *ktistai* in the persona of the Roman emperors, rebuilders of their city. However, the archaeological excavations undertaken by the French archaeological mission at Paphos have been able to show that under the reign of Augustus the city actually experienced profound topographical transformation, with large earthworks causing the Hellenistic city to disappear under the new Roman city (notably to the northeast of the Hellenistic city on *Fabrika Hill* and along the southwest and western shore). The new city extended much further to the north and east from the limits of the Hellenistic city: its city wall, probably destroyed by the earthquake of 15 BC, was not rebuilt and, on the contrary, was totally looted, its large stones being reused in the new buildings of the new city. In this respect, Augustus can indeed be considered on the one hand as a new *ktistes* of Nea Paphos, but on the other, since it respected the street orientation of the Hellenistic grid, it is only a continuation. The same can be said about Vespasian. This emperor not only financed the rebuilding of the city but also continued to worship the goddess Aphrodite in her sanctuary at Palaia Paphos, showing that he was following on from the first mythical *ktistai*, Kinyras or Agapenor, but also Nikokles, the last king of the dynasty of the Kinyrades: like him, Vespasian is represented on the coin with, on the reverse, the image of the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Paphos[49]. So, in the second half of the 1st century AD, even when the old Paphos was no longer inhabited and that Nea Paphos was the seat of the representative of the Emperor on the island, it was the sanctuary of Aphrodite which still referred to the city. In fact, since the sanctuary attracted the first inhabitants of the old Paphos, we can say that the goddess was the real *ktistes* of the double city of Paphos.

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[49] In a way, for Vespasian, following Nikokles, Aphrodite could be considered as the *Tychè* or *Fortuna* of Paphos following a suggestion made by Destrooper-Georgiades about Nikokles's large silver coins: "on peut penser que Nicocclès fait figurer sur ses grandes monnaies en argent la divinité locale Paphia, qui fut en même temps la protectrice de la cité, deux caractéristiques qui sont clairement indiquées sur ses monnaies par les deux couronnes, l'une murale, l'autre en forme de peplos"; cf. Destrooper-Georgiades 2000, 123 and Pl. 1, fig. 1.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 195–209
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.014.21404
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Foundations of Cities in Asia Minor as a Tool of Attalid Policy

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Abstract

Settlement of new cities or colonies was a significant tool used by the Hellenistic kings to achieve various goals. The dynamics of the Attalids in this field were strictly determined by changes in their geopolitical situation. A turning point in the history of the Attalid state was the Apamean Peace that in 188 ended the war of Rome and its allies against Antiochos III. Under the terms of the treaty the kingdom of Pergamon became a regional power. This opened up new prospects for the Attalids, but also presented them with new challenges. In the case of many foundations, it is difficult to determine clearly whether they were founded by the Seleucids or by Attalids, but it can be said that most of the Attalid foundations were established after 188. Considering colonisation activities of the kings of Pergamon, therefore, it must be remembered that they were able to benefit from the achievements of the Seleucids and only supplement them according to the needs and objectives they intended to achieve. The article examines possible reasons for the establishment of settlements by the Attalids: economic, building instruments of control over a given region, military purposes.

Keywords: Attalids, Asia Minor, colonies, city foundations.

Establishing new cities was an essential part of the activity of Hellenistic kings. It allowed them to pursue a variety of political, economic and sometimes military objectives. The colonisation campaign was already started by Alexander the Great, who founded a number of cities named Alexandria after him. His actions were successfully continued by the Diadochs and then by successive rulers of the monarchies formed after the break-up of Alexander's state. This process began as early as 316.[1] Kassander by founding—through synoecism—a city with a significant name: Kassandreia.[2] New settlements were found-

[1] All dates are BC.
[2] Diod. 19.52.2–3.

ed not only by representatives of the most powerful dynasties: Seleucids, Ptolemies and Antigonids, but also by rulers of smaller kingdoms such as Bithynia, Pontos and Cappadocia.[3] Few regions of the *oikumene* of the time remained outside the colonising activity of the Hellenistic kings.

The kings of Pergamon were also extremely active in this field. The dynamics of their activities were, of course, strictly determined by changes in their geopolitical situation. A turning point in the history of the Attalid state was the war of Rome and its allies against Antiochos III. Under the terms of the Apamean Peace that ended this conflict in 188, the kingdom of Pergamon became a regional power. This opened up new prospects for the Attalids, but also presented them with new challenges. For in the earlier period, the goals and problems of the Pergamon rulers were on many levels quite different. They had been slow to build up their influence in western Asia Minor and had gradually emancipated themselves from Seleucid rule. It was not until Attalos I that they decided to assume the title of king. Attalos I too brought the Kingdom of Pergamon into the world of great politics, skilfully exploiting the internal conflicts within the Seleucid state and their failures in the Third Syrian War against the Ptolemies. The effect of Attalos I's active policy was to gain control of a large part of hitherto Seleucid Asia Minor,[4] to strongly manifest Pergamon's presence in the Aegean region (including the acquisition of important bases there),[5] and to establish contacts with a number of Greek states and with Rome, which was increasingly involved in Greek affairs. However, most of Attalos' acquisitions proved unsustainable—he lost control of most of his Asia Minor's gains to Achaios, who represented the Seleucid power in the region. The situation was not changed by the usurpation of Achaios, and the agreement made against him between Antiochos III and Attalos I. Indeed, epigraphic evidence indicates that the vast majority of the territory ruled by Achaios after his defeat and death in 214 came under the control of Antiochos III, including even all or almost all of Mysia.[6] Ultimately, at the death of Attalos I in 197, the Attalid state, although larger than the one he inherited, was still on the scale of an extremely large and powerful Greek *polis*. It was only the acquisitions from the Apamean Peace (Mysia, Phrygia, Lydia, Lycaonia, Pisidia, Pamphylia and Chersonese Thracian) that proved to be overwhelmingly permanent. It was therefore 188 that marked a watershed in the territorial extent of the Kingdom of Pergamon.[7] More significantly, Pergamon had risen to the position of a regional power and—in contrast to a brief period in the 220s of the 3rd century—it maintained such a position until the end of its history.

For the attempt to establish the aims and scale of Attalid colonisation policy, the difficulty of dating the origins of some of the settlements, and consequently their founders, is a significant problem. Many of these, presumably Hellenistic, are only grasped

[3] Generally, for the new settlements, founded or refounded ine the Hellenistic period see Tscherikover 1927; Cohen 1995; Cohen 2006. Seleucid colonies: Cohen 1978; Ptolemaic: Cohen 1983; Mueller 2006 (focuses on situation in Egypt); in Macedonia: Papazoglou 1988; local kings and dynasts in Asia Minor: Kobes 1996, 205–230.

[4] Mainly in Caria, Lycia and Hellespontine Phrygia.

[5] First of all, Aegina. For Attalos I's policy in the Aegean, cf. Allen 1971; Allen 1983, 65–75; Grabowski 2016, 82–93.

[6] Cf. Ma 2002, 60–61.

[7] It is estimated that after 188 the Attalid state covered about 80,000–100,000 km^2 (Mileta 2008, 62; Thonemann 2013, 1–2).

in source material from the Roman period. For others, attested only epigraphically, it is sometimes difficult to determine their location, and a number of the toponyms known to us have not yet been able to be matched with absolute certainty to the surviving remains of buildings or fortifications. According to the often-held view, most of the colonies (especially the military ones) in western Asia Minor were the work of the Seleucids, even if the first information about them dates from the Attallid domination of the area after 188.[8] The Seleucids indeed pursued a very vigorous colonisation policy, but this fact should not lead one to attribute almost all foundations to them. Particularly as the arguments to justify such a conclusion are not indisputable. One of them is the belief that, while Macedonians are often attested in the Seleucid armies, they are rarely attested in the Attalid armies.[9] It is also assumed that there was no significant emigration from Macedonia to Asia Minor after 315. This was thought to be a result of Kassander's consolidation in Macedonia and the consolidation of his power.[10] Furthermore, according to some scholars, the term 'Makedon' in the Hellenistic period was simply meant to describe soldiers equipped with Macedonian weapons; finally, the Attalids were said to be hostile to anything Macedonian. Against such theses, moreover, a number of counterarguments have already been raised, some of which seem to be justified.[11] The belief that the Attalids were allegedly hostile to Macedonia and the Macedonians has little basis in fact. The dynasty itself was purely Macedonian.[12] The conflicts with Macedonia of the Antigonids were purely political, and it was for political reasons that Attalos I contributed to the outbreak of Rome's second war with Macedonia. Besides, he had already taken part on the side of Macedonia's opponents during the First Macedonian War. Also the policy of Eumenes II in the period before the outbreak of the Third Roman–Macedonian War was turned against Macedonia. The king of Pergamon consistently tried at this time to get Rome to go to war with the king of Macedonia. It was—probably orchestrated by Eumenes himself —the attempt on his life, which he accused Perseus of making, that provided the Romans with the pretext to start the war.[13] These conflicts and the historical development of the Kingdom of Pergamon may have resulted in almost no Macedonians fighting in the Attalid army until 188. It was argued that it cannot be ruled out that with the crisis of the Antigonid monarchy and its eventual fall, Macedonian emigrants appeared in Asia Minor and that the Attalids, with their huge increase in territory and power after 188, would certainly have

[8] E.g., Bar-Kochva 1976, 24–25; Cohen 1995, 223–225. At the other extreme is the proposal of Frank Daubner (2011), who proposes that all or at least the vast majority of colonies first recorded after 188 should be considered as founded by Attalids.

[9] Cohen 1995, 223.

[10] Billows 1990, 303.

[11] Daubner 2011, 50–51.

[12] Daubner (2011, 50) rightly noticed that fact that the founder of the dynasty, Philetairos, was half-Paphlagonian (his father Attalos was Macedonian or Greek) is irrelevant here, since as an eunuch he had no descendants. His nephew Eumenes I took over power after him, and after him his nephew and adopted son Attalos I. And it was from the latter that all subsequent rulers of Pergamon descended. Attalos I was the son of Philetairos' adopted nephew named Attalos and Antiochis, the daughter of Achaios (Strab. 13.4.2; cf. Seibert 1969, 54–55).

[13] Plb. 22.18.5; 27.6.2; Livy 42.15.3–42.16.9; 29, frg. 34; App., *Mac.* 11.4.

welcomed such Macedonian settlers.[14] However, there is no evidence to confirm this hypothesis. In turn, almost unanimous opinion of researchers that, by the end of the 3rd century BC at the latest, the name "Makedon" already meant a professional term—soldiers armed on the Macedonian model—is not necessarily correct. As noted, only one case is known in which sarissa-equipped soldiers from outside Macedonia were referred to as "Makedones."[15]

This does not mean that the kings of Pergamon should be considered the founders of most of the settlements, but neither can their creation be attributed *a priori* to the Seleucids alone. Certainly, however, the achievements of the Seleucids in this regard influenced the actions taken by the Attalids after 188, since, having taken over a significant part of the Asia Minor territories, they were able to draw on the achievements of their predecessors and adapt their actions in this regard to the reality already established. The first rulers of the Seleucid dynasty, on the other hand, were very active in the field of colonisation, including in Asia Minor. Their foundations were primarily intended as a response to military needs. The military potential was strengthened by a system of military settlements. In this way, the size of the army was increased in Macedonian and Greek recruits. Military colonies could also act as garrisons to help maintain control of a particular region. In the case of the Seleucids, most such colonies were established in Syria, northern Mesopotamia and, in the case of Asia Minor, in Cilicia, Phrygia and Lydia. According to some scholars, the latter two lands contained as many as 45 such *katoikiai* and perhaps a dozen others, also inhabited by Macedonian soldier-farmers.[16]

Due to the territorial extent of the state, it was also extremely important for the Seleucids to control the communication routes connecting the different parts of their empire. The relief and climatic conditions of Asia Minor meant that there were not many convenient land routes. The mountainous lands of the southern part of Asia Minor (Pisidia, Isauria, Lycaonia) were never fully conquered by both the Seleucids and their successors. Consequently, the western lands of the peninsula, including Troad, Mysia, Lydia, Phrygia, Lycaonia and Caria were connected to the centre of the Seleucid state by virtually only one convenient route, running between Galatia and the mountain ranges winding along the southern coast. The eastern plain part of Cilicia played a key role in maintaining the connectivity of the Asia Minor possessions with the Syrian centre of the Seleucid monarchy. On its borders there were convenient passages: the Cilician Gate in the eastern Taurus Mountain range, and the Syrian Gate in the Amman Mountains. This southern route, moreover, was not ideal either, as it ran partly through uninhabited mountain areas and waterless Lycaonia. The other, northern route, went from Sardes via Lydia and Phrygia and Cilicia.[17] In the west of the peninsula, on the other hand, the most convenient communication routes, which allowed to penetrate far into the peninsula, usually ran along the valleys of rivers, i.e. Maeander or Hermos.

[14] The Pergamene decree after the death of Attalos III (*OGIS* 338.14) attests the presence of the Macedonians. However, it is very unlikely that the Attalids settled them there, cf. Cohen 1995, 168–169.

[15] There are the troops of Antiochos I of Commagene in the 1st century: Josephus, *Bell. Iud*. 5.11.3. Polybius (2.65.5) describing Antigonos Doson's forces at Sellasia in 222, mentions the Megalopolitans, "armed in the Macedonian manner," but does not call them "Macedonians," cf. Walbank 1957, 275; Daubner 2011, 50.

[16] Griffith 1935, 150–151; Bar-Kochva 1976, 22–25, cf. also Schuler 1998, 33–34.

[17] This old Persian Royal Road once connected the western satrapies of the Achaemenid Empire with its centre. About these communication routes, see Syme 1995.

It is therefore not surprising that—especially along the southern route—a number of settlements with Seleucid dynastic names are attested. The Seleucids, understanding the importance of land routes for controlling Asia Minor and maintaining a connection to the centre of their state, founded a number of cities or colonies, one of the tasks of which was precisely to control strategic routes. Strabo (14.2.29) describes this route as the most important link between Asia Minor and Syria. Among the key points he mentions along the route from Ephesus to the Euphrates are those with names clearly indicative of Seleucid foundations, such as Antioch on the Maeander, Laodikeia on the Lycus, Apamea, Laodicea Catacecaumene. In fact, these are not the only source attested settlements with such names located either on the southern or northern route or on side branches of these main roads.[18] The picture of Seleucid colonisation in Asia Minor is completed by other localities, whether towns or military settlements.[19] Of course, as with other dynasties, colonisation did not always mean establishing new settlements from scratch. It was common practice to refund already existing towns or to rename them in a way that directly indicated a connection to the dynasty in question. Dynastic names symbolically emphasised the Seleucid presence in the area and a similar naming policy was also applied by rulers of other dynasties.

There was no single model of Seleucid colonisation. Some of the *katoikiai* lay close to already existing *poleis* and at least some of the *katoikiai* could obtain citizenship of such a *polis*.[20] Sometimes *katoikiai* were given *polis* institutions with the king's approval.[21] A well attested case of this type is Toriaion in south-eastern Phrygia. Under the Seleucids it was a typical *katoikia*. There have been preserved three letters of Eumenes II, in which he elevated the settlement to the status of a *polis*.[22]

Considering colonisation activities of the Attalids, therefore, it must be remembered that they were able to benefit from the achievements of their predecessors and only supplement them according to the needs and objectives they intended to achieve.

Foundations undoubtedly could have been one of the elements for building instruments of control over the region in question. Such a role may have been particularly important in the case of the Attalids due to the specific structure of their state and its methods of governance. Many indicate that in the period before the Apamea Peace, the Attalid state was devoid of an elaborate administrative apparatus, as, due to its small territory it was simply not needed.[23] In new situation after 188 Eumenes II seems to have developed—as

[18] We can also add such cities as Antioch of Pisidia, Alabanda, Apolonia Salbake, Seleucia on the Calycadnos, Seleucia in Pisidia, Seleucia/Tralles (mentioned by Strabo under the latter, original name) and—perhaps—Nysa (maybe named for an unknown member of the Seleucid family, see Magie 1950, 2: 990; Cohen 1995, 257). These settlements were most often *poleis*.

[19] For Seleucid colonization in this region see Cohen 1978; Cohen 1991; Ma 2002, 35.

[20] This is evidenced by the inscription documenting the act of *sympoliteia* of Smyrna to the inhabitants (including the *katoikoi*) of Magnesia on Mount Sipylus and the nearby fortress of Palamagnesia (*OGIS* 229).

[21] This was the case of Larissa in Syria, and perhaps also of Seleucia on the Eulaeus, cf. Cohen 2006, 117–118. It is possible, however, that Seleucia had the status of a *polis* from the very beginning (Bar Kochva 1976, 34–35).

[22] The letters also provide valuable information about the organization of this community and the structure of the population. The locals lived in this place together with the Greeks, Macedonians and Galatians. Both groups formed the *demos*. See Ricl 1997; Daubner 2011, 46; Michels 2019, 335; Kaye 2023, 62–63.

[23] Thonemann 2013, 7.

far as was possible in such a diverse region as Asia Minor—specific methods of governance.[24] The methods whose main aim was—as, by the way, with the other Hellenistic monarchies— to maximise the monarchy's profits. He used Seleucid patterns frequently.[25] However, there were also fundamental differences between the Attalids and the Seleucids. In the case of the former, officials representing royal authority were usually recruited from representatives of the local elite, generally already having a share in power.[26] Moreover, the rich sources concerning local Attalid officials, and minimal in respect of the regarding high-level central officials, testifies to the high degree of decentralisation of the administration of the Kingdom of Pergamon.[27] The Attalids consciously—probably for practical reasons—abandoned the model of a highly centralised authority, although they tried to assert their influence over the internal affairs of the cities by other means.[28]

Due to the specific nature of social structures, it was very difficult for a large part of the population in the interior of Asia Minor to be subject to fiscal rigour.[29] In contrast, it was relatively easy to impose such obligations on Greek cities, especially those on the western coasts of Asia Minor. Another thing is that the rulers of Pergamon skilfully combined fiscal policy with euergetism. *Poleis* bore similar fiscal burdens on the state as other territories, but in return they could count on various kinds of financial support from the central authority. This is well attested to by the case of Teos, which received a substantial sum annually for the development of the city.[30] The Attalids tried to maximise the profits made through the cities. Economic purposes may have been served by the practice of transferring royal land to already existing *poleis* or *katoikiai*. For the period after 188, several such cases are known: Olbasa, Temnos, Apolloniouchara, Kardakoi and (probably) Apollonia on the Rhyndakos and possibly Emoddi.[31] Olbasa at Milyas and Temnos at Aeolis were *poleis*. In the case of Apollonia on the Rhyndakos, it is doubtful that it was an Attalid colony, and there are many indications that it existed before the Hellenistic period.[32] Kardakoi and Apollonoiucharax, on the other hand, were *katoikiai*, the former

[24] See Allen 1983, 85–121; Savalli-Lestrade 2001; Dreyer 2010; Thonemann 2013, 5–30; Kaye 2023, 34–233.

[25] With the exception of the southwestern part of the country, where the Attalid administration did not follow the patterns of its predecessors, see Dreyer 2010, 348–350; Thonemann 2013, 8–10. Cf inscription from the sanctuary of Apollo Pleurenos on the lake Coloe: *SEG* 46.1519; Ma 2002, 371–372 no. 49. It is difficult to assess the origin of the office of city governor (*ho epi tes poleos*), which in the case of the Seleucids is recorded only in one city in Asia Minor (Alinda), but in the other parts of their monarchy it was a common office: Robert – Robert 1983, 146–154 no. 14, 15; Ma 2002, 156; Thonemann 2013, 11.

[26] Cf. *SEG* 2.663; 44.1108; 46.1434; 57.1109. For this topic, see Holleaux 1938, 73–125; Kearsley 1994; Savalli-Lestrade 2001, 86–89; Guizzi 2006; Thonemann 2013, 13–16.

[27] Thonemann 2013, 12.

[28] Epigraphic sources indicate, however, that both *strategoi* and *epistatai* in subordinate cities were appointed by the Attalids: *IMagnM* 97, *ll*. 30–47; *OGIS* 267; *RC* 53; *Syll.*[3] 642. See also Allen 1983, 104–109 (who goes too far in assessing the extent of the cities' independence from the Attalids), cf. e.g., Savalli-Lestrade 2001; Dreyer 2010.

[29] Thonemann 2013, 18.

[30] *OGIS* 329; Bringmann – von Steuben 1995, no. 62.

[31] *RC* 48; *SEG* 2.663 (Holleaux 1938, 73–125); *SEG* 40.162; 48.1532. Cf. Walbank 1979, 527; Allen 1983, 88–91; Thonemann 2013, 24–26; Kaye 2023, 50–51, 228–229. The royal territories in the case of the Attalids occupied the greater part of their state. On the fiscal function of royal land in the Hellenistic monarchies including the Attalids, see Mileta 2002; Mileta 2008.

[32] Cohen 1995, 393–395.

founded by the Seleucids, the latter perhaps also by them, or by the Attalids. Emmodi was, in turn, a colony settled by Mysian settlers. There is also a fragmentary surviving letter from one of the rulers of Pergamon attesting to similar steps against an unidentifiable military settlement.[33]

Kardakoi, located in the Telmessos region, was almost certainly a colony founded by Antiochos III.[34] After 188 it was taken over by the Attalids. Its exact location is unknown, and hence it is difficult to speculate on the role it was to play in the state of first the Seleucids and then the Attalids. In any case, as can be seen from the preserved inscription, the settlers there in the period before the domination of the Attalids had purchased some land from a local dynast, Ptolemy of Telmessos, for which they were to pay in instalments. Subsequently, the settlement began to experience major problems, and the settlers were unable to repay the transaction. Additionally, Eumenes II probably imposed a tax, the payment of which was beyond the capacity of the inhabitants. In such a difficult situation, they turned to the king with a petition. In response, Eumenes (who, having taken over the land once belonging Ptolemy of Telmessos also took over his debts) remitted part of the arrears for the land he had purchased from Ptolemy, which can therefore also be seen as a form of renunciation of royal land. He also remitted the outstanding poll tax and reduced it from 4 drachmas and 1 obol to 3 drachmas. Furthermore, he announced the exemption of new settlers from the tax for three years and for two years for those who had left the settlement and would decide to return.[35]

Several years later, in 165/164, Eumenes II was approached for support by the inhabitants of another *katoikia*, Apolloniouchara. The plight of this small town was probably the result of the devastating Galatian invasions that hit the region in 168–166.[36] Eumenes eventually defeated the invaders, but as the text of the inscription suggests, Apolloniouchara and its immediate surroundings suffered very heavy losses as a result of the Gallic attack. The royal response to their petition indicates that Eumenes had taken a number of decisions to improve the city's finances. Taxes and various other burdens on the state were reduced, and securing the financial basis of the settlement was to be achieved by the transfer of the surrounding land to it. Residents of two villages were relocated, and their land was to be divided into plots for the inhabitants of Apolloniouchara. The care Eumenes took of their inhabitants was certainly due to a number of reasons. Fort Apolloniouchara played an important strategic role: it allowed the control of an important road linking Sardis with Pergamon. It was therefore necessary to ensure that it could function properly and provide the necessary means to do so. One of these was precisely the transfer to this *katoikia* of part of the surrounding royal land to the king. The document also attests to the existence of a land distribution office (*geodotes*), unknown from the

[33] *RC* 51.

[34] Cf. Schmitt 1964, 104; Hansen 1971, 184; Cohen 1995, 330. The settlers may have been soldiers fighting in the army of Atniochos III at Raphia in 217 (Plb. 5.79.11; for their origin cf. Walbank 1957, 609), or their descendants. In Bezalel Bar-Kochva's opinion (1976, 216–217, note 27) these Kardakians were not military settlers although he allows for the possibility that they were initially settled there by the Persians for military purposes.

[35] Segre 1938, 190–207.

[36] *SEG* 57.1150; Hermann – Malay 2007, 49–58 no. 32; Thonemann 2011b. The invasion of the Galatians affected a large part of Phrygia, Lycaonia and southern Pisidia and even Sardis was in danger (*OGIS* 305, *ll*. 10–11); cf. Thonemann 2011a, 172–173.

Seleucid documents.[37] It was to it that Eumenes commissioned to delimit an additional area on the royal land, which could be annexed to the Apolloniocharax.

The aforementioned cases therefore seem to show that the Attalids attached great importance to provide an economic basis for the settlements, whether founded by themselves or inherited from their predecessors. They strove to make the settlements economically independent and to this end they did not even hesitate to transfer royal land to them. This seems to be of particular interest in this case. As is pointed out, the phenomenon of transferring royal land to communities rather than to individual representatives of the elite is characteristic only of the Attalids. Nothing is known of any such a case in relation to the Seleucids.[38] This obviously gave specific fiscal advantages, and similar economic objectives may have guided the intensive colonisation campaign carried out by the kings of Pergamon in Asia Minor. As noted, the Attalid colonies were often located away from the main roads, on fertile plains. It is therefore possible that an important motive for their establishment were economic, agricultural considerations.[39]

The establishment of cities and colonies also served military purposes. Based on the available source documents, the size of the Pergamenian army at a maximum of ca. 12,000 soldiers before the Apamean Peace and slightly more after 188 was estimated. Comparatively small land forces, however, were complemented by a relatively strong fleet.[40] Of course, these are only estimates, but the calculations seem reasonable and indicate that such a significant expansion of the territory of the kingdom of Pergamon after 188 did not result in a radical increase in its military resources. They were, however, a force that allowed the Attalids to engage not only in local conflicts. War was an important part of their royal image, although the Attalids themselves skilfully constructed their image as euergets, filhellenes. The most important asset in the hands of the kings of Pergamon became their skilfully built image as defenders against the barbarian Galatians. As a consequence of all these activities, by the 3rd century the Attalids were already seen as defenders and protectors of Greek culture and the Hellenes themselves, primarily in north-west Asia Minor, but also in the Aegean basin.[41] Attalid activity in the Aegean basin both before and after 188, however, was not limited to diplomacy and the use of various propaganda and euergetic tools. From the reign of Attalos I onwards, the kings of Pergamon made an unexpectedly frequent military engagement outside Asia Minor as well. Before 188 it can be mentioned military campaigns in Europe and the Aegean during the First and the Second Macedonian War, support to the Athenians in 200 against Philip V, two expeditions against Nabis of Sparta in 195 and 192, participation in the Rome's war against Antiochos III in Greece.[42] After 188 the Attalids waged a number of aggressive wars, both local, e.g., against Bithynia, Pontos and Galatians, and outside their direct

[37] Kaye 2023, 196.

[38] Thonemann 2013, 23; Kaye 2023, 198.

[39] Hansen 1971, 176–177; Daubner 2011, 54; Kaye 2023, 196–197.

[40] Ma 2013, 60–62.

[41] For the image of the Galatians, see Hannestad 1994; Mitchell 2003. On the use of the Galatian wars in Attalid propaganda, see Kosmetatou 2003, 170–171; Strootman 2005, 121–134.

[42] Military campaigns in Europe and the Aegean during the First and the Second Macedonian War, support to the Athenians in 200 against Philip V, two expeditions against Nabis of Sparta in 195 and 192, participation in the Rome's war against Antiochos III in Greece. Cf. *IvP* 60–63; Plb. 10.42; 16.2–8, 24, 25, 34; Livy 31.14–16, 45, 46; 32.16, 19, 23, 33; 34.26.10–11; 29.2–5; 40.2.

sphere of interest. Attalos II conducted military operations in Thrace. He was also involved in dynastic disputes within the Seleucid monarchy, where he helped the usurper Alexander Balas to seize the throne in 153. Attalids found strong footholds on the coast of the Thracian Chersonese. Attalid soldiers participated in fights in Greece and Thrace during the Third Macedonian War. In the 140s, Pergamon's vessels and soldiers took part in Rome's wars against Andriskos in Macedonia and the Achaean League in Greece; they also conducted a campaign in Thrace against Diegylis, who supported Pergamon's traditional enemy, the Bithynian King Prusias II.[43]

Such a high level of activity in the military field must therefore have had a solid and sustainable basis—both human and material. As in the case of other Hellenistic monarchies, the Attalids were keen to use mercenaries.[44] An important part of Pergamon's military resources was also formed by settlers. Mysia was particularly important for the recruitment resources of the Pergamon kings.[45] Polybius, in describing the war operations of Attalos I vs. Achaios in 218 mentions the "Mysian *katoikiai*." The term he uses does not necessarily mean military colonies, but nevertheless indicates the importance of such settlements for the possibility of recruitment of soldiers.[46] Due to the aforementioned fact that many of the *katoikiai* are only epigraphically attested and their exact location is unknown, it is difficult to unequivocally define their specific military purpose. Furthermore, functions that individual settlements performed could, and certainly did, change. At least some of those founded as a fortress with a garrison developed subsequently into a town. A particularly large number of settlements, referred to in sources after 188 as *katoikiai*, were located in Lydia. One can even speak of a network of such settlements, agricultural in character, inhabited by potential conscripts. More often than not, it is difficult to determine which of these were the work of the Attalids and which were inherited from the Seleucids. Similarly, it is difficult to unequivocally determine the origin of their inhabitants. It is very possible that they were most often local people and the Mysians migrating from the mountainous areas in the region of Mysia Abbaeitis (area from Aizanoi to Lydia). Mysian settlement in the border zone between Mysia, Lydia and Phrygia assumed a particularly large scale in the period after the Gallic War of 168–165.[47] The experience of this war must have highlighted the need for adjustments to the defence system of the kingdom's territory. An additional, important, perhaps even the most important, goal was certainly to expand the human military base of the kings of Pergamon.

In general, as it seems, it is not possible to speak of one model of Attalid colonisation and each case would have to be analysed individually, in order to assess the motives behind the decision to establish them and the role they were to play. It is rarely possible, however, since even in the case of those towns or *katoikiai*, of which the founders were

[43] On these involvements, see *IvP* 247; *SEG* 48.530; 49.875; Plb. 27.18.1; 28.14–15; Diod. 31.32a; Livy 36.42.6; 42.55.7–8, 58.14, 60.3, 67.2–8; Paus. 7.16.1; Just. 35.1.6–7; See Kahrstedt 1954, 47–49; Sayar 1999, 245–251. This activity continued until the end of the dynasty: it cannot be ruled out that Attalos III conducted military activities in Thrace: *OGIS* 339; see Hopp 1977, 111 note 25; Ma 2013, 55.

[44] Cf. e.g., *RC* 51 (*mistophoroi* who formed the garrison), see also Ma 2013, 64–65.

[45] For the role of Mysia and the Mysians for the Attalid army, see Allen 1983, 62–63; Ma 2013, 65–71.

[46] Plb. 5.77.7. On the meaning of "αἱ τῶν Μυσῶν κατοικίαι" ("Mysian *katoikiai*") see Walbank 1957, 605.

[47] For this topic, including the Mysian colonization see Ma 2013, 66–71; Kaye 2023, 195. *Contra* Daubner 2011, 56–58.

certainly the Attalids, it is not always possible to unambiguously determine the date of their foundation. Moreover, like other Hellenistic rulers, the Attalids also followed the practice of refounding already existing cities and gave them names referring to the dynasty. For the period pre-188, the founders and approximate time of foundation can be determined in a small number of cases. The founder of Attaleia in Lydia and Philateireia in Mysia at the foot of Mount Ida was most probably Eumenes I, although it is not possible to exclude also Philetairos.[48] In any case, it was the former who had to face in both these cities with a rebellion of mercenaries, which he eventually succeeded in resolving at the price of a series of concessions in their favour.[49] In 218 Attalos I settled Celtic mercenaries from the Aigosages tribe together with their families, most probably somewhere in Troad. On his initiative during the same campaign of 218 or shortly after it, Gergitha was founded, to which he resettled the population from the cities destroyed in Troad.[50] Sources also conclusively prove that Attalos I founded Mernouphyta in Lydia, although fixing a more precise date is not possible. In any case, it must have been important to Attalids, as it was subsequently refunded by Eumenes II. Its importance probably lay in creating a counterweight to Thyateira on the Lycus, one of the oldest and most important of the Seleucid colonies, which, incidentally, after 188 also came under the rule of the Attalids.[51]

The most active Attalids in the work of establishing new settlements were Eumenes II and Attalos II. At least in part, their activity in this respect may have been a response to the new situation in which Pergamon found itself after 188. Some of the cities they founded were intended to strengthen the dynastic presence in the newly acquired territories. By virtue of the Apamea Peace, Eumenes II received, among other things, the recent conquests of Antiochos III in Europe: Thracian Chersonese, Lysimachia and a belt of fortresses there[52]. Panion, located at Propontis south of Bisanthe, was undoubtedly established with the intention of strengthening Pergamon's power in the area and was probably a military colony.[53] The region of Hellespont and Propontis was particularly important for reasons of trade and communication. There is, in fact, more evidence of interest in this region and the neighbouring Thracian Chersonese on the part of the Attalids.[54]

In Asia Minor with absolute certainty, or at least with high probability, the foundations of Eumenes II or Attalos II were: in Lydia – Apollonis, Philadelphia; in Phrygia – Dionysopolis and Eumeneia; in Pamphylia – Attaleia. Perhaps those located in Lydia can also be added to this list: Pantheotai, Eumeneia ("Eumeneia in Hyrkania"), Stratoniceia and a settlement with only a fragmentary "-aleia" name preserved, and Hellenopolis in Bithynia.[55] Even in the case of these certain foundations, their exact dating is always uncertain. Their exact location is also not always known.

[48] Eumenes I: Hansen 1971, 22; Magie 1950, 980. Philetairos: Allen 1983, 24. Cf. Cohen 1995, 171.

[49] *OGIS* 266. It cannot be ruled out that both of these settlements were military colonies, see Couvenhes 2020.

[50] *Katoikia* of the Aigosages: Plb 5.78.5; 111.2. Gergitha: Strab. 13.1.7. It was probably located in the Kaikos Valley: Cohen 1995, 166–167.

[51] Cohen 1995, 218–219.

[52] Livy 38.39.14–16.

[53] *OGIS* 301.

[54] See Kaye 2023, 126–127.

[55] Hellenopolis as a city founded by "Attalos" is mentioned by Apollodoros (*FGrH* 244, F77). According to Hansen (1971, 178), this may refer only to Attalos II due to the limited territorial extent of the Attalid state in the earlier period. However, as Hopp (1977, 102 note 236) noted, we do not know whether any area of Bithynia

The name Apollonis probably commemorated the death of Queen Apollonis, wife of Attalos I and mother of Eumenes II and Attalos II.[56] The date of her death is not known, but one of the inscriptions indicates that she was still alive in 175.[57] Eumenes, on the other hand, died in 159/158, and therefore—since the inscription referring to the foundation of Apollonis mentions the command of Eumenes II, it must have happened before that year. It is very possible that the time frame can be narrowed down to 165–159, based on the dating of other inscriptions in which Eumenes II is referred to as "Soter" in the text.[58] The location of Apollonis is certain—the city lay about 10 km from Thyateira. It was founded through synoecism. In the lists of ephebes from the 2nd century, one can found Macedonian names, which—together with the image of the Macedonian shield on the coins of this polis— indicates that at the time of its foundation at least part of the population of Apollonis were military colonists.[59]

Philadelphia, also was located in Lydia, in the valley of the Kogamos river, according to our sources, founded by Attalos II. As in the case of Apollonis, the iconography of the Philadelphian coins (the Macedonian shield) indicates that this city was initially a military colony too.[60] The foundation of Philadelphia was certainly intended primarily to strengthen from the south the defence of the strict centre of the Attalid kingdom, i.e. Pergamon and its immediate surroundings.

Dionysopolis in Phrygia was to be the foundation of both brothers: Eumenes II and Attalos II. The exact location is not known, but it was located on the north bank of the river Maeander. Eumeneia in the same land, on the other hand, was to be founded by Attalos II himself.[61] Both of these colonies should probably be linked to the intention to

was under the rule of Attalos II. There has also been a hypothesis that the location of Hellenopolis in Bithynia is an error of some ancient authors, and that the city was located on the European coast of Propontis (Kaye 2023, 124–125). Panheotai appears in the text of an Ephesian inscription from the time of the Flavians with a list of towns in the province of Asia among the towns of the communities belonging to the Pergemene judicial district (*conventus iuridici*). Pliny (*NH* 5.126), in turn, mentions Panteenses in a similar list. Habicht (1975, 79) has proposed an interesting hypothesis according to which, it was the Latin version of the Greek ethnikon Pantheotai. In his opinion, the name "Pantheotai" referred to the term "pantheon" (temple of all the gods) and this settlement was established in the vicinity of the temple of "all the gods." Habicht concluded that the founder of this settlement may have been Eumenes II, since among the Attalids he in particular nurtured the cult of all the gods. In the case of Stratonikeia, two founders are taken into consideration: either Antiochos I (e.g., Ruge 1940, 1246–1247; Magie 1950, 978; Robert 1962, 252–257) or Eumenes II (Robinson 1954, 4–7; Dmitriev 1999, 409). On the present state of research, it is not either of these two possibilities that can be ruled out. For Eumeneia Hyrkania and "-aleia" cf. Tcherikover 1927, 22–23; Robert 1962, 76–78; Allen 1983, 87–88; Cohen 1995, 197, 208. The inscription mentioning Eumeneia Hyrcania is quite unanimously linked to the Attalos II's expedition to the Thracian Chersonese in 145.

[56] Strabo (13.4.4) mentions that Apollonis was named in honor of Apollonis, so it is very likely that it had something to do with her death

[57] *OGIS* 248, *ll*. 56–57. Various dates for the queen's death have been proposed: *ca.* 183–159 (e.g., Robert 1962, 260 note 1; Cohen 1995, 201); shortly after 175 (Hopp 1977, 33); *ca.* 175-159 (Van Looy 1976, 153); after 175/174 and before 168 (Virgilio 1993, 46, note 171); after 175 and before 168-164 (Müller – Wörrle 2002, 194, 215–217—based on their dating of another document, from the period when Apollonis was already dead).

[58] Cf. Dmitriev 1999, 409.

[59] Probably at least two colonies existed in the territory of Apollonis, see Hansen 1971, 176; Cohen 1995, 201, 203.

[60] Thonemann 2011a, 174–175.

[61] Steph. Byz., s.v. *Dionysoupolis*; Eumeneia, cf. Cohen 1995, 293–295, 301, 302.

consolidate the dynasty's control over this land. They also allowed the securing of the routes leading to Pisidia and Pamphylia, that is other lands taken over by the Attalids in 188. In the case of Dionysopolis economic, agricultural considerations may also have come into play.[62] With their maritime policy the Attalids should probably be linked to the foundation of Attaleia in Pamphylia (on the site of present-day Antalya). It had an excellent harbour and became the largest city in Pamphylia. In addition, it had convenient road connections with other cities of the coast, and—via the route through Laodicea on the Lycus and Sardis—with Pergamon. The founder was Attalos II, most probably in the 50s of the second century.[63] Perhaps the direct impetus for the Attaleia's founding was the king's conflict with nearby Termessos.[64] Attaleia was for the Attalids a window to the eastern Mediterranean. The value of the port was increased by the fact that the surrounding coasts of Lykia and Cilicia Tracheia were rather rocky and inaccessible. As was the case with the most important Attalid ports, that of Elaea and Ephesus, commercial and military considerations were combined at Attaleia[65]. It is also possible that the town was accompanied by the military settlement of Korykus in Pamphylia.[66]

At least part of the foundation of Eumenes II and Attalos II does not therefore date from the first years after they took control of the new lands as a result of the Apamea Peace. It is possible that the activity of both kings in this field in the 60s and 50s of the second century was their reaction to the deterioration of relations with Rome at the time.[67]

Both—regardless of their links with Rome—were able to act not as a Roman client, but as a strong friend. Eumenes II achieved success in the wars with the Galatians, Bithynia and Pontos on his own, without relying on Roman assistance. Roman mediation or imposed settlements, which were not always in Pergamon's favour, did not change the essence of the matter—the outcome of the wars was determined by Eumenes' success on the battlefields. In the case of the conflict with the Galatians, Eumenes II, against the wishes of the Senate, continued the warfare. His contacts with Perseus aroused the distrust of Rome in the winter of 169/168, and the prestige he gained in the Greek cities of Asia Minor by fighting the Galatians further deepened this distrust. As a consequence—upon hearing about Eumenes II's intention to come to Rome—the Senate decided to prohibit kings from entering the city. In Rome, the idea of creating a kingdom for Eumenes' brother, Attalos (later Attalos II), was also considered. Another attack by the Romans on

[62] Cf. Hansen 1971, 177; Dmitriev 1999, 406.

[63] Strab. 14.4.1; cf. Cohen 1995, 337–338; Grainger 2009, 129–130. *Contra* Dmitriev (1999, 408): ca. 166–159.

[64] Grainger 2009, 130.

[65] Strabo (13.3.5) describes Elaea as a harbour and naval station of the Attalids and tells about the works carried out in Ephesus on behalf of Attalos II, the aim of which was to allow large merchant ships to enter. Elaea was the main port of the Attalids until 188, when the Treaty of Apamea gave the Attalids Ephesus, which took over the role of the most important port of the Kingdom of Pergamon. On Elaea, see Pirson 2004; Pirson 2014.

[66] Strabo (14.4.1) also adds that Attalos II also founded the *katoikia* Korykus, adjacent to Attaleia, and surrounded it with a wall (it is difficult to say whether Strabo means that the wall surrounded both of these places). Two solutions have been proposed: according to the first one, it is Strabo's mistake and the we should posit another Attalid foundation in Likia; according to the second—Korykus was a satellite military colony of Attaleia, see Cohen 1995, 337–338 (with further literature); Kaye 2023, 123.

[67] Dmitriev 1999: 410–411.

the king of Pergamon was the proclamation of the autonomy of the Galatians and the freedom of Ainos and Maronea.[68]

The difficulties in dating the individual Attalid foundations make it difficult to assess the purposes of their establishment. As can be assumed, the Attalid foundations served various purposes. They strengthened the dynasty's presence in the newly acquired territories and served to strengthen the position of the kings of Pergamon. Some of them, those of a military nature, were a recruitment base. The Attalids also attached great importance to the economic self-sufficiency of the settlements they founded. It can therefore be assumed that they were also intended to fulfil a certain economic role. It was not an accident that the colonization activity of the Attalids after 188 was focused on the interior of Asia Minor, despite the fact that they already had a rich network of settlements there that had been established earlier by the Seleucids. Unlike the Ptolemies, the Attalids, with the significant exception of Attaleia, did not establish new ports, which indicates that Elaea and Ephesus sufficiently satisfied their needs in the Aegean Sea. Attaleia, on the other hand, was to be a base in the southeastern part of the Mediterranean.

Abbreviations

IMagM – O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, Berlin 1900.
IvP – M. Fränkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, Vol. 1: *Bis zum Ende der Königszeit*, Berlin 1890.
OGIS – W. Dittenberger, *Orientis graeci inscriptions selectae*, Leipzig 1915–1924.
RC – C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period. Study in Greek Epigraphy*, New Haven 1934.
Syll^3 – W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*, 3rd ed., Leipzig 1915–1924.

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[68] On these events, see Plb 25.4.8; 29.4.7–10; 30. 3.1–7; 19; 20; 28; 30; Livy 44.24–25; 45.20.1–2; 34.10. Cf. Meloni 1953, 122–125; Burton 2011, 292–296.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 211–228
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.015.21405
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Philetairos *Ktistes* and Pergamon's Civic Memory in the Post-Attalid Period

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Abstracts

This paper provides a reappraisal of the representation of Philetairos as the new founder of Pergamon between the Hellenistic and the Imperial period. The link between Philetairos and the early development of Pergamon as a *polis* is reassessed in the wake of the recent archaeological scholarship and with particular attention to the occurrences of the toponym Philetaireia, by which the areas of the citadel urbanised before Eumenes II were known. The existence of a cult of Philetairos as *Ktistes* is possible but unproven for the Attalid period; conversely, its traces are evident in the late 2nd and 1st cent. BC. Finally, by reassessing the sources regarding the charge of "*prytanis* and priest (of Philetairos)" between 133/2 BC and the advent of the *Principatus*, it is possible to identify a rupture in the organisation of Pergamon's civic memory at the beginning of the Imperial period. This overview shows that the characterisation of Philetairos as city founder in Pergamon's civic memory was probably first shaped by his successors to spread a message of legitimacy but reached its peak in the century between the end of the Attalid dynasty and Augustus. At this time, the city looked at its grand past as a source of identity and prestige, with which the new ruling class wished to connect. Under the Empire, the legacy of Philetairos lost a great deal of its appeal without, however, causing the complete disappearance of Pergamon's dynastic past from the memory of the civic elites.

Keywords: Pergamon, Philetairos, Attalids, honours, *prytanis*, *ktistes*, civic memory, Diodoros Pasparos, Mithradates of Menodotos.

Introduction

Philetairos is unanimously acknowledged a crucial role in the history of Pergamon. The founder of the Attalid dynasty left his footprint in the monumentalisation of the city and contributed to the positioning of Pergamon in the geopolitical scenario of the Hellenistic world, providing his successors with an effective model in both respects. The evidence from his lifetime has delivered the image of a local dynast who enjoyed a remarkable degree of autonomy under Seleucid sovereignty and resorted to individual euergetism to strengthen his position in Pergamon and in Anatolia, even claiming a public role in major Greek sanctuaries like Delphi and Delos.[1] However, recent archaeological studies on Pergamon between the late Classical and the early Hellenistic period have questioned the actual contribution of Philetairos to the urban development of the city. Was the governor and then dynast of Pergamon the real founder of a new Hellenistic city, as has often been assumed? Or did he simply take part in an ongoing process that had been started by the city itself, rather marking his different approach by means of a novel interest in individual agency, which was drawn from contemporary Hellenistic kingship? Following the new hypotheses, not only the Temple of Athena on top of the citadel, which was certainly built in the Diadochi age,[2] but also several other aspects of the early Hellenistic city may have been established before Philetairos.[3] While precise dates remain elusive and thorough reappraisals of the stratigraphic data are still required, the following observations corroborate the nuances proposed by recent archaeological studies. Indeed, a residence suitable for royals must have already existed in the late 4th century as Alexander's concubine Barsine is said to have raised up her child Herakles in Pergamon before he was summoned to Greece by Polyperchon in 309 BC.[4] Moreover, since Lysimachos held part of Alexander's treasure on the citadel, barracks for a garrison must have been present here from the time of Philetairos' appointment in 301, and plausibly earlier, when the citadel

[1] On Philetairos' status as a semi-independent local lord in Pergamon, see Allen 1983, 8–24; Chrubasik 2016, 26–34, 52–54. On his use of the Pergamon treasure to start a vast programme of euergetic relations with cities in north-west Asia Minor (Kyme, Kyzikos, Aigai, Pitane, Temnos), see Manganaro 2000; Gauthier 2003; Orth 2008; Virgilio 2016. For his gifts to Delphi, Delos, and Thespiae, see Orth 2008, 486–487; cf. Chrubasik 2016, 27. His role in the monumentalisation of Pergamon is confirmed for the sanctuary of Demeter, erected by Philetairos and his brother Eumenes: for the dedicatory inscription, accomplished *hyper* their mother Boa, see *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910) 437, no. 22. The chronology of the earlier phases of the Asklepieion in the Kaikos valley—under Philetairos or Eumenes I—remains debated (see Riethmüller 2011, 345; Steuernagel 2015, 368). In the surroundings of Pergamon, the architrave of the temple of the Great Mother at Mamurt Kale advertises the name of its donor Philetairos: see Conze – Schazmann 1911, 10, 20–21; cf. Schalles 1985, 26–31; Agelidis 2011, 178–179.

[2] On Athena's sanctuary, see Kästner 2011.

[3] See the overview provided by Rheidt 2015, 300–305 and Pirson 2017, 54–62, with references. An early date of the city walls has been proposed on the ground of the observation that the so-called *Philetairische Stadtmauer* does not show the major structural innovations introduced by the new poliorcetics of the early Hellenistic period. On the Pergamon walls, cf. Laufer 2021, 43–49. The thesis dating the organisation and orientation of the street system to Philetairos' period has also been questioned. Finally, recent archaeological studies have identified the traces of a pre-Attalid theatre on the western side of the acropolis and of a market stoa on the upper agora, which can be dated before Philetairos: see esp. Rheidt 2015, 302–304.

[4] Diod. 20.20.1. See Heckel 2006, 138, *s.v.* Heracles.

was under Antigonos' control.[5] Finally, the written evidence suggests that the institutional transformation of Pergamon into a *polis* started in the 4th century with the establishment of the charge of the *prytanis*.[6] As limited as they could be at this early stage, the activities of civic magistrates must have required specific structures.[7]

All in all, if Philetairos' touch on the urban history of Pergamon remains important, it may have been lighter than previously thought. The new archaeological picture of late Classical Pergamon is that of a minor urban centre which had independently undergone the first stages of its poliadisation before Philetairos' appointment as "the custodian of the stronghold and treasury" on its citadel.[8] On the other hand, his intervention accelerated this process and inaugurated a period of monumentalisation that later Attalids brought to completion in the wake of Philetairos' model.

Waiting for further archaeological analyses that may fine-tune our understandings of the early urban history of Pergamon, this paper aims to contribute to the ongoing reassessment of Philetairos' legacy through the textual evidence and in a perspective of *longue durée*. More precisely, I intend to explore when, by whom, and for what purposes the age of Philetairos gained increasing success in the civic memory of Pergamon, ultimately becoming a symbol of the early Hellenistic history of the city. As we shall see, Philetairos' legacy was already meaningful for the early Attalids, yet its prestige grew greater in the post-monarchic history of Pergamon, and finally faded, together with many other aspects of the city's past, under the Roman *Principatus*.

Philetairos and Pergamon's history, from the third to the first cent. BC

The importance of Philetairos' legacy can be seen immediately after his death in 263 BC, when his nephew Eumenes I succeeded him and kept on issuing the numismatic types introduced by his uncle (the so-called *Philetairoi*), which displayed Philetairos'

[5] On Philetairos' early career, between his appointment in Pergamon by Lysimachos and his desertion to Seleukos' side, see Landucci Gattinoni 1992, 210–215, 249–250; cf. Lund 1992, 187, 200; Chrubasik 2013, 87–88 and 2016, 26–27.

[6] Apart from the *Pergamon Chronicle*, for which see below, the charge of *prytanis* is attested by a treaty of *isopoliteia* between Pergamon and Temnos, which has been dated to the early 3rd century on palaeographic grounds: see *IvP* I, no. 5, with discussion in Allen 1983, 16–18, esp. n. 29; Saba 2020, 103–108.

[7] The identification of the institutional buildings of Hellenistic Pergamon remains an open issue. For instance, various hypotheses have been advanced as regards the localisation of the *prytaneion*. Schwarzer 2004 reassesses the evidence concerning *Haus* H, *Haus* Z, and the so-called Hestiaion, all located halfway on the southern side of the hill; *Haus* I, near the lower agora, is favoured by Coarelli 2016, 186–191, but his hypothesis is contradicted by the later chronology of the development of this part of the city, which took place after the Attalid period (Pirson 2017, 82–83, 92); Rheidt 2015, 303–304, identifies the *prytaneion* with an early stage of development of the building known as *Temenos für den Herrscherkult*, at the border of the possible first location of the agora. Although the *prytaneion* has not yet been archaeologically identified, the surroundings of the upper agora are the most plausible option, both by analogy with other cities and on the ground of the sequence of rituals listed in a decree for Attalos III, where a sacrifice to Hestia (a goddess typically worshipped in *prytaneia*) and a banquet in the *prytaneion* are mentioned immediately after other rituals performed on the agora (*IvP* I, no. 246, lines 42–51): see Rheidt 1992 and 2015; Bielfeldt 2010, 169–183; Sielhorst 2015, 141; Caneva 2019, 177; Caneva 2020a, *passim*.

[8] Strabo 13.4.623.

bust instead of a legitimate Seleucid king.[9] Modern numismatists have associated Philetairos' death with the addition of a new visual detail—a laurel wreath replacing Philetairos' headband—in coins issued by Eumenes I, which has been interpreted as a possible visual statement of Philetairos' heroisation.[10] The hypothesis that a cult of Philetairos as the *Ktistes* of a renewed Pergamon was part of a dynastic message promoted by his successor is strengthened by the first attestation, under Eumenes I, of an eponymous priesthood that would later be explicitly associated with the name of Philetairos.[11] According to Holger Schwarzer, moreover, a mid-3rd cent. monumental building erected in the area of the agora of Pergamon, whose remains have been found under the foundations of Eumenes II's Great Altar, was possibly associated with a cult of Philetairos promoted by his early successors.[12] If this hypothesis is correct, then it is interesting to note that the obsolescence of this building, which was later replaced and covered by the Altar, should be roughly contemporaneous to Eumenes II's introduction of a new numismatic type displaying the *cista mystica* of Dionysos—the so-called *cistophoroi* coins.[13] Simultaneity might point to more than mere coincidence. The Treaty of Apamea of 188 BC, and the consequent rise of Pergamon as a macro-regional power in Anatolia and the Aegean world, started a new era for the Attalids: from this time on, their royal legitimacy and geopolitical aspirations arguably drew on grander motifs than the heritage of Philetairos, who—as important as he could be for the city—could appear to a pan-Hellenic and Roman public as nothing more than a local dynast (and a semi-barbarous eunuch with Paphlagonian roots).[14]

[9] On the history of the Pergamon mint under Philetairos, see Marcellesi 2012, 65–86; Meadows 2013, 153–158, with references. Seleukos was first acknowledged the issuing authority in Pergamon after Philetairos' secession from Lysimachos. In a second phase, the legend ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ appears on the reverse, whereas the observe still displays the face of Seleukos. The last memory of Seleucid sovereignty was eventually replaced by Philetairos' bust in his later issues, where the dynast bears a headband strikingly similar to a royal diadem. As pointed out by Chrubasik 2016, 30, it is impossible to say whether a Seleucid king granted Philetairos the right to strike his own coinage or he did so on his own initiative, counting on the difficulties Antiochos I encountered after his ascension to the throne.

[10] On Eumenes I's numismatic types, see Queyrel 2003, 65–70 (iconography); for the chronological debate, Meadows 2013, 158–159; cf. Chrubasik 2016, 33. For the connection between the laurel wreath and Philetairos' death and heroisation, see Marcellesi 2012, 88–92, with references.

[11] See discussion in Wörrle 2000, 550–554; cf. Caneva 2023, 80–82, and below.

[12] The building is known as the *Apsiden-Bau* in German scholarship, due to the apse-shaped outline of its eastern wall. Its erection is dated by Schwarzer 1999, 285 to the reign of Attalos I, but a slightly earlier date (*i.e.*, under Eumenes I) is defended by Rheidt 1992, 279–280. On its interpretation as a possible cult place of Philetairos and his successors, see Schwarzer 1999, 278-286; Schwarzer 2011, 111–114; cf. Caneva 2023, 81.

[13] The date of introduction of the *cistophoroi* is debated, ranging between the immediate aftermath of Apamea and the 160s: see Marcellesi 2012, 132–144; de Callataÿ 2013, 218–231; Meadows 2013; Kaye 2022, 140–142. The *Philetairoi* did not immediately disappear. The common scholarly opinion posits a few years of concurrent production of *cistophoroi* and *Philetairoi* before the abandonment of the latter in the early 170s. Meadows 2013, 164–169 proposes an alternative picture: the period between the late 190s and c. 180 would have witnessed a suspension of their production, which was resumed afterwards and continued until c. 160. Be that as it may, it was the new *cistophoroi* whose circulation was intensively promoted by Eumenes II and his successors in Attalid Asia Minor.

[14] The marked iconographic rupture between the *cistophoroi* and previous Pergamon coinages has been underlined by Kaye 2022, 147–149, who connects it with the new agenda of the Attalids after the expansion of their kingdom. The fact that the decade after Apamea witnessed Eumenes II's temporary suspension of the *Philetairoi* combined with the emission of a large amount of Attic-weight Alexanders can be interpreted

After Apamea, the urban expansion of Pergamon as the capital of Eumenes II's kingdom made it necessary to exceed the topographical limits of the old city, with the erection of new residential areas, temples, public facilities (including the multi-storey gymnasium at the southern foot of the hill), and defensive walls. This process was accompanied by the theatricalisation of Pergamon's urban landscape through a grand masterplan of monumental terraces and viewsheds that embraced the capital as a royal space and connected the citadel with the surrounding region under Attalid dominion.[15] At some point, the development of the new city led to the denomination of the districts belonging to the old town on the hilltop as Philetaireia, clearly evoking the name of the dynastic founder. In an ambitious paper reassessing the urban history of Pergamon, Felix Pirson suggested that this toponym has been misinterpreted as proof that the early Hellenistic city plan was conceived under Philetairos. Rather, the name would identify the old city in contrast to the new districts, which occupied the lower parts of the slope and the surrounding valley.[16] In what follows, I argue that this designation did not gain currency at the time of Eumenes II's enlargement of the capital, but after the dynasty ended in 132 BC.

The first text mentioning the toponym Philetaireia has been preserved by a monument dedicated by a certain Diogenes son of Epikles, who served as curator and protector of the walls and gates of the Philetaireia and of the sanctuaries "near the Eumeneion":[17]

> *IvP* I, no. 240: Διογένης Ἐπικλέους, | κατασταθεὶς πρὸς τῆι ἐπιμελείαι καὶ φυλακῆι | τῶν ἐν Φιλεταιρείαι τειχῶν καὶ πυλῶν | καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Εὐμένειον ἱερῶν, τῶι δήμωι.

The base was found in September 1880 in the Turkish tower at the southwestern corner of Athena's terrace. Comparison with other inscriptions and monuments reused in this tower reveals that Diogenes' dedication originally stood nearby the temple of the goddess,[18] a site of primary importance for the self-representation of the Pergamon elite.[19]

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as a tentative solution of the Attalids to make "their coinage acceptable and their royalty inconspicuous" to the cities that had just entered their broadened influence area (quote from Kaye 2022, 132). This goal was achieved by advertising the generic and pan-Hellenic legacy of Alexander instead of the dynastic identity of the Pergamene kings.

[15] On terracing as a paramount resource for monumentalisation in Hellenistic urban design, see Laufer 2021, 137–158 on Pergamon; cf. Portale 2017 for a comparison with Syracuse under Hiero. On the relevance of viewsheds in fashioning the perception of landscape and establishing hierarchies of power, see now Williamson 2014, 2016, and 2021. On their defensive implications for Pergamon, see Ludwig – Knitter – Williamson 2023.

[16] See Pirson 2017, 62; cf. Pirson 2012, 204.

[17] The obscure identification of this Eumeneion lies out of the scope of my present discussion. The monument has been interpreted as an independent sanctuary of the royal or dynastic cult (see already Fränkel in *IvP* I, p. 138; Schwarzer 1999, 259 considers its possible identification with the *Temenos für den Herrscherkult*; Coarelli 2016, 41–49 identifies it with a predecessor of the temple of Zeus and Trajan on the uppermost terrace of the acropolis), or as a possible denomination of the Great Altar (Schwarzer 1999, 294; Queyrel 2002 and 2005, 112–147; Schwarzer 2011, 112). This last interpretation has not won general consensus: see Bielfeldt 2010, 158, n. 114 for a *status quaestionis*. Another, to my knowledge overlooked hypothesis is that the Eumeneion could be a public building renamed by the city to honour the king, perhaps even the hitherto unidentified *prytaneion* of Pergamon: cf. *SEG* 59.1406 A (*CGRN* 137; 281 BC), a honorific decree passed by Aigai for Seleukos I and Antiochos I, which stipulates that the city's *prytaneion* and *strategion* shall be renovated and renamed Seleukeon and Antiocheon, respectively (lines 51–54).

[18] See Caneva 2019, 172–173.

[19] See Mathys 2014a.

Concerning the date of the monument, the writing displays a conservative style with elegant letters, without fully developed serifs but with small thickening at the end of long *hastae*; A has straight crossbar (**Fig. 1**). While these features can point to an early date (3rd to early 2nd cent.), the very conservative writing of *IvP* 248, the stela containing the famous letters of Attalos II and Attalos IIII on the regulation of the priesthoods of Dionysos and Sabazios (135 BC; **Fig. 2**),[20] warns against hasty conclusions, making a date in the late Attalid period or even after 132 perfectly possible.

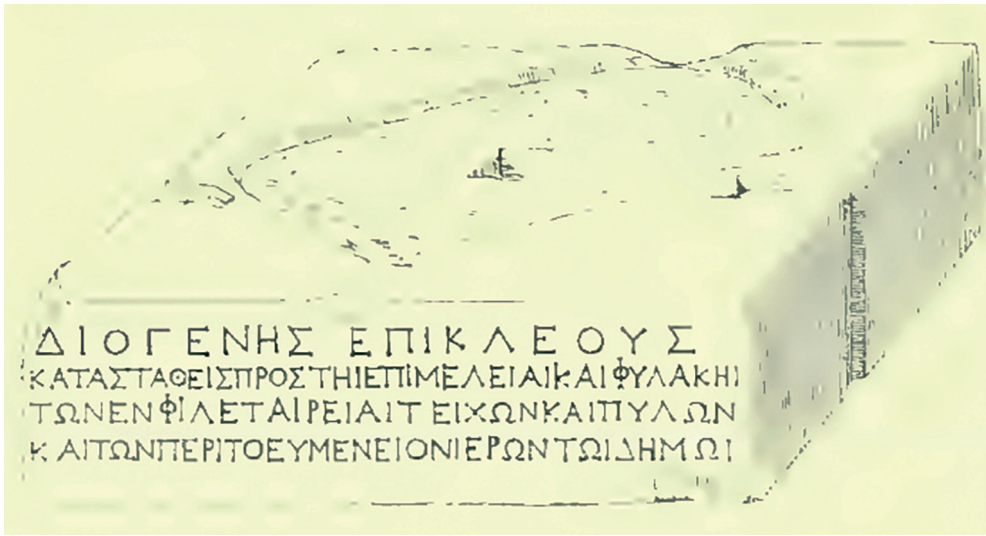

Fig. 1. Drawing of the stone *IvP* I, no. 240 (dedication by Diobenes to the *Demos* of Pergamon; post 132 BC?)

A decisive argument in favour of a date after 132 comes from the dedication "to the *Demos*." The central role ascribed to the Pergamon *Demos* together with the lack of any reference to a king are features that we may expect in documents issued after the end of the dynasty.[21] This is even more significant for Diogenes, whose office comprised the

[20] As already pointed out by Welles 1934, 264, various palaeographic features of this stele show similarities with inscriptions from the 3rd century: see also Caneva 2023, 82–83; cf. Caneva 2020b, 52–54.

[21] On the growing importance and self-awareness of the Pergamon *Demos* under Attalos III, and even more after 132, see Bielfeldt 2010; Chin 2018; Caneva 2023. An interesting comparison comes from two dedications made by Apollodoros son of Artemon, a magistrate active in Pergamon after the end of the dynasty, which have been discovered near the Nomophylakion (NW corner of the upper agora) and in the theatre, respectively. The first document (*IvP* I, no. 237; Bielfeldt 2010, 184, fig. 32) concerns the renovation of the door and façade of the Nomophylakion by Apollodoros and two other *nomophylakes*; the initiative is presented as a dedication to Zeus Tropaios and the *Demos*. The second text (*IvP* I, no. 236; Bielfeldt 2010, 184) has been inscribed on a decorated marble architrave dedicated to Dionysos Kathegemon and the *Demos* by Apollodoros after serving as γραμματεὺς δήμου. The dedication to Dionysos and the People reflects the use of the *cavea* for both theatre performances and meetings of the assembly. On the chronology of Artemidoros' career, see Bielfeldt

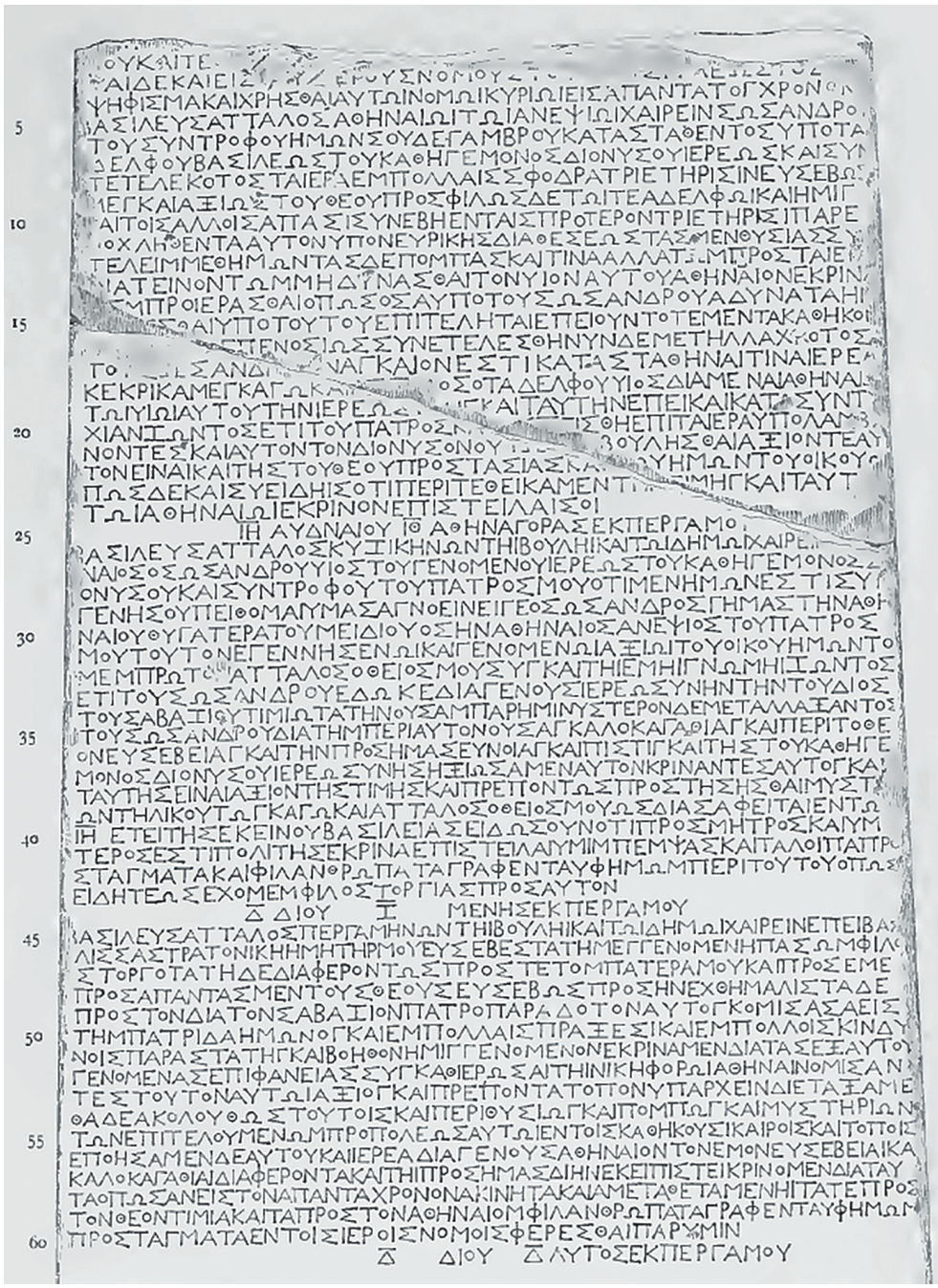

Fig. 2. Drawing of the stone *IvP* I, no. 248 (dossier of royal letters concerning the administration of the priesthoods of Dionysos and Zeus Sabazios; 135 BC)

military protection of the citadel's walls: in the royal period, it would have been inappropriate for a person holding a public function of this nature not to display any official link with the king.[22] Conversely, after 132, the joint protection of the walls and sanctuaries of the old city could be assigned to an important civic officer, especially if one considers that post-Attalid Pergamon underwent various moments of military threat during the wars of Aristonikos and of Mithridates VI.

In the first edition of the text, Max Fränkel identified the toponym with Philetaireia at Mount Ida, a foundation of Eumenes I, who would accordingly be the recipient of an oecist's cult in the *katoikia*.[23] However, the complete denomination of this town was "Philetaireia under Mount Ida."[24] Besides, the proposed date of the dedication after the end of the Attalid dynasty rules out any military control of Pergamon over the region surrounding Mount Ida. The correct identification of the toponym became possible when, in 1907, a newly published decree establishing honours for the 1st-cent. politician Diodoros Pasparos located a place called Philetaireia in the upper city of Pergamon.[25] Lines 40–42 of the decree refer to the consecration of a *temenos* to Diodoros, named Diodoreion, in the Philetaireia district:

> ἀνεῖναι δ[ὲ] | αὐτοῦ κ[αὶ τ]έμενος ἐν Φιλεταιρείαι, ὀνομάσαντας Διοδώ{δω}ρειον, ἐν ᾧι κατασκευασθ̣[ῆναι] | ναὸν λίθ̣[ου … ca. 5–6] λευκοῦ, εἰς ὃν ἀνατεθῆναι τὸ ἄγαλμα.

The text then stipulates the celebration of a procession starting at the *prytaneion* on the inauguration day of the sanctuary, followed by a sacrifice and the organisation of contests (lines 42–48). An anniversary festival shall take place every year on the same day (line 48). What follows is extremely fragmentary, but comparison with other honorific decrees of the late Hellenistic period suggests that references to Diodoros' old age and death imply the granting of honours including the future organisation of a state funeral and the public funding of his tomb, which was to be located on, or nearby, the agora of the Philetaireia.[26]

2010, 183–184; Halfmann 2004, 31 and Ventroux 2017, 61–61, 261 identify this character with the rhetor Apollodoros, a friend and private teacher of the young Octavian.

[22] See Caneva 2023, 77–80.

[23] *IvP* I, p. 138. Chrubasik 2016, 29 accepts a date of foundation of this Philetaireia under Philetairos, but see Cohen 1995, 171–172 in favour of a later chronology, under Eumenes I.

[24] *IvP* I, no. 13 (reign of Eumenes I), lines 20–21: στρατιῶται οἱ ὄντες ἐμ Φιλεταιρείαι | τῆι ὑπὸ τὴν Ἴδην (the same toponym appears in line 55). On the localisation of the Eumeneion in the Philetaireia of Pergamon, not near Mount Ida, see already Allen 1983, 23, n. 49.

[25] *MDAI(A)* 32 (1907) 243–245, no. 4. The date of the decree together with the record of Diodoros' euergetic acts and honours urge us to exclude any link with the homonymous settlement near Mount Ida. Out of the two *agorai* of Pergamon, the one situated in the Philetaireia must be the upper and older one, which was part of the city at the time of Philetairos' reign. On the career and merits of Diodoros Pasparos, see Jones 1974 and 2000; Virgilio 1994; Chankowski 1998; Musti 2000 (with a date of the dossier in the late 2nd cent. BC, which has not gained wide acceptance); Müller 2003, 433–445; Aneziri – Damaskos 2004, 264–265; Strubbe 2004, 320–323; von den Hoff 2004, 386–390; Mathys 2014b, 51–54; Forster 2018, 233–245.

[26] Lines 50–52: εὐγήρως τοὺς διαδεξαμένου[ς … | …]ιαν ἀπολιπὼν εἰς τὸ χρεὼν [… | … ἐν τῆ̣ ἐν Φιλ]ε̣ταιρείαι ἀγωρᾶι ἐὰμ […]. I should point out that the integration ἐν τῆ̣ ἐν Φιλ]εταιρείαι ἀγωρᾶι is not the only possible one. Restoring πρὸς τῆι ἐν Φιλ]εταιρείαι ἀγορᾶι is equally possible, and perhaps preferable, if we accept the identification of the Diodoreion with the late Hellenistic *temenos* excavated along the citadel road, whose location is in proximity of, but not overlooking the upper agora (on this monument, see Coarelli 2016,

To sum up, our evidence does not preserve any occurrence of the toponym Philetaireia before the end of the Attalid dynasty in 132. Of course, sound conclusions may not be drawn on one single argument *e silentio*. However, the evidence concerning the office of the "*prytanis* and priest of Philetairos" in post-Attalid Pergamon supports this low date. The relevant dossier has been gathered and discussed by Michael Wörrle in 2000.[27] The office, which was yearly and elective, could be referred to with the simple denomination "*prytanis* and priest" or with a longer formula naming Philetairos as the recipient of cult. However, the latter denomination is only rarely attested. Wörrle could find it in a late-2nd cent. honorific decree for Menodoros, son of Metrodoros,[28] and in two small fragments, one from an ephebic list inscribed on the walls of Temple R (north-west of the gymnasium)[29], and one of unknown provenance.[30] Wörrle argued that this priesthood was the same as the eponymous one mentioned in *IvP* I, no. 18, a 3rd-cent. honorific decree for Eumenes I.[31] One detail particularly deserves our attention: the full formula "priest of Philetairos" is never attested before the end of the Attalid period.[32] Thus, although we cannot remove a certain degree of uncertainty, we should observe that the extant evidence points to 132 BC as the *terminus post quem* for the joint appearance of the toponym Philetaireia and of the long denomination "*prytanis* and priest of Philetairos." If this is correct, the necessity the institutions of Pergamon felt to make a link with the dynastic founder explicit after the extinction of the dynasty suggests that the continuation of Philetairos' cult was not self-evident after the death of the last Attalid king. Rather, it must have been a voluntary and programmatic choice, showing that the people of Pergamon considered this reference of great importance for their identity and prestige. Since the decree for Menodoros can be dated soon after the end of Aristonikos' war, we may conclude that Pergamon did not relaunch the memory of Philetairos at a later date but decided to preserve this mark of continuity with its dynastic past at the very beginning of its history as a free city.

192–212). On honorific decrees allocating state funds to cover the costs of public funerary rituals and tombs, see Chiricat 2005; Frölich 2013, 259–274, esp. 259–263 on Diodoros; cf. Caneva 2022, 377–378.

[27] Wörrle 2000, 550–554; cf. Wörrle 2007, 509, 515.

[28] *SEG* 50.1211 (Wörrle 2000, 544), line 2, where the charge, mentioned with its full name, is held by the proposer of the honorific decree; lines 22–23 inform that Menodoros had been previously elected "*prytanis* and priest of Philetairos" for the spirit of justice he had always displayed in his public life.

[29] All ephebic lists inscribed on Temple R are post-Attalid. See Wörrle 2000, 551–552. The relevant text is the result of the combination of three fragments: *MDAI(A)* 33 (1908), 395, no. 11+16+18. The beginning of the text reads Ἀσκληπι[…] ὁ καὶ Τρύφ[ων πρύτανι]ς κ[αὶ ἱ]ερεὺς Φιλετ[αίρου …].

[30] Wörrle found the fragment in the deposit of the Asklepieion, but the original place of publication of the inscription is unknown. The text is restored as follows: […πρύτανις καὶ ἱερε]ὺς Φιλε[ταίρου] (*SEG* 50.1214).

[31] *IvP* I, no. 18, lines 38–39 (τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ εἰς τὴν στήλην καὶ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν δοῦναι | τοὺς ταμίας τοὺς ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀρκέοντος), with Wörrle 2000, 551.

[32] See Bielfeldt 2010, esp. 153–154; Caneva 2023, 81–82, on *MDAI(A)* 33 (1908), p. 375, no. 1. In the dating formula of this honorific decree from the reign of Attalos III, one reads ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως καὶ ἱ<ε>ρέως […]. The lacuna has no space for Philetairos' name, so the title of the office must be directly followed by the name of the person holding the charge: see Wörrle 2000, 556, n. 65 for a restoration identifying the eponymous priest with Eubiotos, son of Eubiotos. Therefore, this text does not contain a possible attestation of the priesthood with its full denomination "of Philetairos" before the end of the dynasty.

Cultic honours for Philetairos in 1st-cent. BC Pergamon

The existence of a civic cult of Philetairos after 132 BC is confirmed by the epigraphic dossier concerning Diodoros Pasparos, a prominent citizen of Pergamon whose distinguished political and diplomatic career unfolded in the period between the end of the 1st Mithridatic war and the mid-1st century.[33] A decree providing a long list of Diodoros' merits toward the gymnasium refers to the erection, on his initiative, of cult statues of members of the Attalid dynasty. The statues became the recipients of sacrifices which were equally supervised and sponsored by Diodoros. With this initiative, Diodoros intended to act in line with the People's gratitude "toward the benefactors of the past."[34] Philetairos' importance is revealed by the denomination of an area of the gymnasium as "the exedra where the [cult statue] of Philetairos [has been installed]" (line 36). Among the attendants of the gymnasium, the Neoi seized the meaning of Diodoros' initiative and, perhaps not without a previous agreement with him, proposed to add a statue of Diodoros himself in the Philetairos exedra, thus delivering a message of continuity between Diodoros and Pergamon's past benefactors.[35]

The evidence sheds light on the seminal role that honorific practices performed in the process of shaping Pergamon's civic memory in the 1st cent. BC. More specifically, it reveals the importance of the royal past as a paramount source of prestige, with which the new political class wished to be associated. This history-making process helps us better understand the ideological meaning of a statue by which Pergamon would later honour one of Diodoros' most remarkable successors, Mithradates son of Menodotos, as a "new founder of the fatherland after Pergamos and Philetairos":

> *MDAI(A)* 34 (1909), 331: ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν | [Μιθραδάτη]ν Μηνοδότου τὸν διὰ γέν[ους ἀρχιερέα] | [καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ Κα]θηγεμόνος Διονύσου, ἀποκα[ταστήσαντα] | [τοῖς πατ]ρῴοις θεοῖς τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώρα[ν καὶ γενόμενον] | [τῆς πατ]ρίδος μ[ε]τ[ὰ Π]ἐργαμο[ν καὶ Φ]ιλέταιρον νέον κτ[ίστην].[36]

In his youth, Mithradates had been a courtier of the homonymous king of Pontos, and at some point he even claimed to be his illegitimate son and heir.[37] Via his father Menodotos,

[33] See above, n. 25.

[34] *MDAI(A)* 29 (1904) 152, no. 1, lines 19–21: τοῦ [… καὶ τοῦ Φιλεταί]|ρου τοῦ Εὐεργέτου καὶ τοῦ Ἀττάλου τοῦ Φιλομήτορος βασιλέως ἀγά[λματα … χρεὼν ἡγη]|σάμενος εἶναι διὰ τὸ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τοὺς γεγονότας εὐεργέτας ε[ὐχάριστον …]. The same statue group is probably mentioned in lines 35–40 of the same decree; one should also add the fragmentary passage of another text, *MDAI(A)* 32 (1907), 257, no. 8, bc, lines 16–19: φιλο]|δόξως ἐμφανίζειν περὶ τοῦ [κ]αθιδρυμένου [ἀγάλματος …] | καὶ Φιλεταίρου τοῦ Εὐεργέτου καὶ τοῦ ΑΓ[…|…]ομήτορο[ς] βασιλέως κατε[…]. On the statues of Attalid royals in the gymnasium, see Chankowski 1998; von den Hoff 2004, 386–390; von den Hoff 2015 and 2018. For a detailed reassessment of the epigraphic evidence concerning the statues erected by Diodoros, see Caneva, forthcoming.

[35] *MDAI(A)* 29 (1904) 152, no. 1, lines 35–36: τῶν δὲ νέων τηρούντων τὸ πρέπον καὶ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐχάριστον διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀγ[ωγῆς καὶ παιδείας αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ φιλο]|τιμότατα καθιδρυκότων τὸ ψηφισθὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἄγαλμα ἐν τῆι ἐξέδραι ἐν ᾗι τὸ τοῦ Φιλεταίρο[υ ἄγαλμα καθίδρυται …].

[36] On the statue base, see Damaskos 1999, 138; Mathys 2011, 278–280. The text was found during the 1908 excavation campaign. The same year, an identical inscription had been published in *MDAI(A)* 33 (1908), 407, no. 36. In the earlier text, however, the name of Pergamos was in lacuna.

[37] Strabo 13.3.625; *Bell. Alex*. 78. On Mithradates' profile, see Hepding 1909; Virgilio 1993, 95–99; Ventroux 2017, 230–232, 267; Saprykin 2019; Fündling 2020.

he also belonged to the highest-ranking echelons of the ruling class in mid-1st cent. Pergamon, where, as our inscription informs us, he held the hereditary tasks of *archiereus* and priest of Dionysos *Kathegemon*, one of the most prominent deities in the civic pantheon. His mother, the Galatian princess Adobogiona (from the Trocmi tribe), had been honoured in the same city with a portrait erected inside the temple of Hera sometime between 63 and 57 BC.[38] Adobogiona's portrait shared the inner space of the temple with other sculptures: the *agalma* of Hera sitting on a throne, surrounded by two standing portraits of an Attalid royal couple.[39] As a close collaborator of Caesar, Mithradates rescued the Roman general when he was under siege in Alexandria in 48/7 BC;[40] his service and friendship with Caesar were repaid with the restitution of Pergamon's autonomy and *chora*, which the city had lost a few decades earlier as a consequence of its ill-timed support to Mithridates VI.[41] The *dictaror* would also grant Mithridates the titles of tetrarch of the Trocmi and king of Pontos and Bosporos, to ensure the presence of a loyal collaborator in the East after the defeat of Pharnakes.[42]

In Mithradates' lifetime, honouring an outstanding leader and benefactor as a new *Ktistes* was a fitting way to inscribe him into the firmament of the city's history. As for Diodoros Pasparos, the citizens of Pergamon decided to embed the honours for their present benefactor within a broader historical picture that embraced their foundational past. And, once again, Philetairos was acknowledged a seminal role in this process as his magnified legacy even obscured the more relevant contributions of his Attalid successors to the urban history of Pergamon.

[38] *MDAI(A)* 37 (1912) 294, 20; cf. Mathys 2011, 279.

[39] See Damaskos 1999, 137–149 on the sculptural programme of the Hera sanctuary. For the dedicatory inscription to Hera Basileia, which was inscribed on the temple's architrave, see *MDAI(A)* 33 (1908) 402, 27: [βασι]λεὺς Ἀτταλο̣[ς βασιλέως Ἀττ]άλου | Ἥραι β[ασιλείαι]. The larger-than-life-size male statue is almost complete and shows a solemn posture of command, which may evoke Zeus; however, the treatment of the remaining lower parts of the head (which is otherwise lost) suggests the identification with an Attalid king rather than with Zeus himself. Only fragments of the female statue have been preserved. The identification of the couple is debated: Attalos II may have represented either his parents Attalos I and Apollonis (see Damaskos 1999, 143–146; Queyrel 2003, 50–52, 266; Palagia 2020, 77) or himself with his wife Stratonike (cf. Schmidt-Dounas 1993/1994, 106–107; Agelidis 2011, 181). The first hypothesis is generally favoured by scholars and might find support in a passage from Suda, s.v. Ἀπολλωνιὰς λίμνη, which informs that Attalos II buried his mother "alongside the greatest sanctuary of Pergamon which he himself had built" (κατὰ τὸ μέγιστον ἱερὸν Περγάμου κατέθετο, ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐδείματο). The text has been misinterpreted as proof that Apollonis was buried inside Hera's temple (cf. Virgilio 1993, 49; Halfmann 2004, 30; Ventroux 2017, 173). However, there is no archaeological evidence supporting this statement, which is based on a wrong translation of the Greek formula with κατά + the accusative, which rather means "toward, opposite, in correspondence to" (*LSJ*). If any, the original burial of Apollonis should be sought in the sacred area nearby the temple, not inside the temple's *cella*. Be that as it may, the link between Hera Basileia and Attalos II's deified mother perfectly suits a message of dynastic continuity and legitimacy, making Attalos I and Apollonis better candidates for the sculptural group.

[40] *Bell. Alex*. 26–28.

[41] *IvP* II, nos. 379–380, with discussion in Segre 1938; Virgilio 1993, 96–98 (cf. Halfmann 2004, 31).

[42] *Bell. Alex*. 78.

The disappearance of the "*prytanis* and priest of Philetairos"

The title of the *prytanis* and priest of Philetairos continues to appear, usually with shortened denominations, until the period of the Roman Civil wars.[43] However, a significant change can be registered after Octavian's victory and the foundation of the imperial cult in the province of Asia.[44] The base of an honorific statue erected by the People of Pergamon refers to C. Otacilius Chrestus, "*prytanis* and *hiereus* of Caesar and *agonothetes* of the children of Augustus (i.e. Gaius and Lucius Caesares) at his own expenses:

> *IvP* II, no. 475 (= *IGR* IV 465; 17 BC–2 AD): ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν | [Γ]ναῖον Ὁτακίλιον Χρῆστον, | τὸν πρύτανιν καὶ ἱερέα | Καίσαρος καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην | τῶν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ παίδων | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει, | ἀνυπερθέτως ἐν πᾶσ[ι] | φιλοδοξήσαντα.

A contemporaneous statue base of Augustus mentions Euangelion son of Metrodoros, "gymnasiarch at his own expenses and *prytanis* and *agonothetes* of the children of Augustus <and> of Kathegemon Dionysos."[45] Finally, a recently published altar jointly dedicated to "*theos Sebastos* Caesar" (Augustus) and his wife "*thea* Livia Hera" by a couple of the civic elite identifies the male donor, Menelaos son of Menelaos, as "priest of Caesar and *agonothetes*."[46] The charges held by these two elite members present both similarities and differences. The first two texts refer to the office of *prytanis*, combined with that of *agonothetes*. However, Otacilius holds the *agonothesia* only in relation to Augustus' adoptive sons, whereas the *agonothesia* of Dionysos Kathegemon is attached to the competences of Euangelion. Moreover, Otacilius is jointly *prytanis* and priest of Caesar while Euangelion is gymnasiarch, *prytanis* and *agonothetes*. In the case of Menelaos, the donor displays his charges as priest of Caesar and *agonothetes*, without any reference to the office of *prytanis*. Thus, the "*prytanis* + priest of Caesar" association only appears in one preserved case. Without excluding the possibility that a shortened formula was in use (thus continuing the Hellenistic habit described above), it is possible that the two charges were only occasionally associated. Also, the different formula used in Menelaos' dedication might depend on a change in the organisation of the involved charges, as this altar is not precisely dated and could be later than the first two texts.[47] Be that as it may, the priesthood associated with the charge of *prytanis* of Otacilius remarkably reveals that

[43] Ventroux 2017, 26.

[44] On the introduction of the cult of Augustus in the province in general, and more specifically in Pergamon, see Burrell 2004, 17–21.

[45] *IvP* II, no. 384 (= *IGR* IV 317): [θεὸν Κ]αίσαρα | [Σεβαστὸ]ν Αὐτοκράτορα | [Εὐ]αγγελίων | [τοῦ Μητ]-ροδώρου, ὁ γυμνα|[σίαρχος ἐκ] τῶν ἰδ[ί]ων καὶ πρύτα|[νις καὶ ἀγω]νοθέτης τῶν Σεβασ|[τοῦ παί]δων τοῦ Καθηγεμό|[νος Διονύσο]υ, ἐκ τῶν περισσῶν τῆς | [ἑορτῆς χρη]μάτων καθειέρωσεν.

[46] Lafli – Bru 2021, 24–252, no. 3, lines 4–7: Μενέλαος Μενελά|ου γενόμενος ἱερεὺς | Καίσαρος καὶ ἀγωνο|θέτης. The Bergama Museum has recorded the acquisition of the altar in 1974, without further information about the findspot. Menelaos' wife, Eirene, performs the dedication to Livia and describes herself as having served as priestess and gymnasiarch.

[47] Lafli – Bru 2021 date the text between the reigns of Augustus and Claudius. A date *post* 27 BC is the only certain information that can be evinced from the title *Sebastos*, which is already borne by Augustus in the dedication.

the Pergamon eponymous *prytanis* and priest changed its name at the beginning of the Principate: the deified Caesar has replaced Philetairos.

Our documents point to a short-lived transition in a period of experimentation with the cultic honours for the imperial family. The reign of Augustus marked a phase of change in the political and religious life of Pergamon. From Dio Cassius (51.20.6–9) we know that in 29 BC, Octavian allowed Roman citizens in Asia Minor to establish cult spaces of Rome and of "*heros* Ioulios" (ἥρωα … Ἰούλιον, *i.e.*, *divus* Iulius) in Ephesos and Nikaia, respectively the capitals of the provinces of Asia and Bithynia, while also giving permission to Greek subjects to install a precinct of himself in Pergamon and Nikomedia. In Pergamon, the *Princeps*' concession led to the introduction of the cult of Augustus, perhaps in the prestigious sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros on the citadel, as recently suggested by Filippo Coarelli.[48] The organisation of priesthoods and liturgies was also affected by the advent of the Empire and laden with great symbolic importance for the city's elite. For instance, Gabrielle Frija has observed that the Attalid *archiereus* disappears from the sources of the period, only to later reappear under Tiberius with the brand-new function of priest of the Emperor.[49] Moreover, a Latin funerary inscription of an elite family mentions one of its members, M. Tullius Cratippus, as the holder of the charge of *sacerdos Romae et salutis*.[50] Cratippus' father, Kratippos, was a philosopher and obtained Roman citizenship from Caesar thanks to the mediation of Cicero. The son of our Cratippus would later become the hereditary priest of Rome and Augustus. Olivier Ventroux has convincingly interpreted the priesthood of Roma and *Salus*/*Soteria* as a transitional institution, plausibly dated to the year 30/29 BC, before the attribution of the epithet *Augustus* to Octavian in 27 BC.[51] Following this new development, we may surmise that the priesthood held by Cratippus changed from the "Roma and *Salus*" formula to "Rome and god Augustus," which was then bequeathed to Cratippus' son.

Coming back to our discussion about the eponymous *prytanis* and *hiereus* of Philetairos, we must observe that neither the Hellenistic denomination nor the transitional one attached to the cult of Caesar appear in the epigraphic evidence of the Imperial period. The yearly charge of *prytanis* continued to exist but was always mentioned without the compound denomination documented in the Hellenistic period. The fragmentary *Pergamon Chronicle*, probably composed during the reign of Hadrian, shows that this office was felt as one of the most ancient and prestigious institutions of the city. The text associates its introduction with the initiative of a certain Archias, which is listed just before the revolt of Orontes against Artaxerxes II, making the period 370s-360s a suitable match for the introduction of the *prytanis* in Pergamon:

> *IvP* II, no. 613, A, lines 1–4: [συνέταξεν(?)] Ἀρχίας [πρυτάν]ε̣ις αἱρε̣[ῖσ]θαι τ̣ῆ̣[ς] | [πόλεως κατ'] ἔτος ἕκασ̣τον καὶ πρῶτος ἐπρυτά|[νευεν Ἀρχί]ας καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι νῦν πρυτά|[νεις εἶναι] διατελοῦσιν.

It is noteworthy that the *Chronicle* does not mention Philetairos in relation to the office introduced by Archias. Does this mean that the ancient link between the *prytanis* and the

[48] Coarelli 2016, 22, 55–59, 97, 104.

[49] Frija 2010; cf. Müller 2000, 540–541.

[50] *CIL* III 399, from Pergamon.

[51] See Ventroux 2017, 120–123, with references.

priesthood of the 3rd-cent. BC dynast was entirely forgotten in the Imperial period? One honorific decree from Mytilene suggests that this may not have been entirely the case. Dated to the end of the 1st / beginning of the 2nd cent. AD, the decree honours A. Claudius Perennianus, a citizen having held various official charges in Mytilene after moving from his original fatherland Pergamon, where he had "held the eponymous prytany from (the time of) the kings (τὰν ἐπώνυμον ἀπὺ βασιλέων πρυτανηΐαν), having inherited it from his family, and carried out in a way worthy of his standing."[52]

The formula used in the decree stands out for the celebratory tone by which the city stresses the noble origins of the honorand and is relevant to our discussion for two reasons. Firstly, it shows that the Hellenistic link between the eponymous *prytanis* and the Attalid dynasty was still remembered and perceived as a source of prestige. Secondly, it raises an apparent problem concerning the organisation of this office in the Imperial period. If we understand the text literally as an indication that the *prytanis* was a hereditary officer, we should conclude that this text is at odds with the normal functioning of this charge and the explicit indication by the *Pergamon Chronicle* that access to the *prytanis*' office was elective and yearly. Ventroux accepts this interpretation and concludes that this office might be an honorific institution different from the civic *prytanis* introduced by Archias. However, this honorific *prytanis* is otherwise unattested and creates an unnecessary duplication of the yearly charge. I think the passage can better be interpreted in relation to the celebratory purpose of the whole decree: the Mytilenians aimed to praise the ancient nobility of Perennianus. We should also notice that the text does not use the formula διὰ γένους, typically referring to a hereditary office, but a periphrasis highlighting the continuity between Perennianus and his ancestors. I would therefore suggest that we understand the clause ἐκ γένεος διαδεξάμε|νος (lines 15–16) in a metaphorical way, implying that Perennianus' ancestors had already held this prestigious charge in the past and perhaps that he could claim to belong to a family whose nobility dated back to the Hellenistic period.

Concluding remarks

The new archaeological image of Pergamon in the late Classical period is that of a urban settlement already possessing the basic features of a small Greek city. This is not necessarily in contrast with the traditional representation of Philetairos as a new *Ktistes*, on condition that we interpret this definition symbolically and ideologically rather than from a literal, urban point of view. From this perspective, the fact that Philetairos' successors magnified his legacy and probably worshipped him as a new founder of their capital appears as an unsurprising practice, which can be identified in the process of creating a message of legitimacy and continuity in the early stages of many other Hellenistic

[52] *IG* XII.2.243: ἀ βόλλα καὶ ὁ δᾶμος | Αὖλον Κλώδιον Περεν|νίανον, στραταγήσαν|τα ἄγνως καὶ εὐσταθέως | ἐν καίροις ἐπιμεληΐας | δευομένοις, τὸν εἴρεα | καὶ ἀρχείρεα καὶ λόγιον | πρύτανιν ἀγωνοθέταν | ἔνι ἐνιαύτω, πεπληρώκον||τα δὲ καὶ τὰν ἐν τᾶ πρώτα | πάτριδι καὶ νεωκόρω Περ|γαμήνων τῶν συνγενέων | πόλει τὰν ἐπώνυμον | ἀπὺ βασιλέων πρυτανηΐαν, | ἂν ἐκ γένεος διαδεξάμε|νος τοῖς τᾶς ἀξίας βάσ|μοις ἀνελόγησε. See Curty 1995, 43–44, no. 22; Ventroux 2017, 91–92.

dynasties. Just as Philetairos' euergetic behaviour on the international level was inspired by the model of contemporaneous kings, so the later Attalids' need to create and spread their own mythology of refoundation and renewal of their capital followed the same dynamics that led the urban and cultural development of other Hellenistic royal residences.

Although Philetairos' legacy may have lost part of its relevance in the royal ideology of the post-Apamea period, when Eumenes II had to fashion the image of a new royalty that largely exceeded the geographical limits of Pergamon, it seems that the dynastic founder never ceased to play a role in the identity of the Hellenistic city. On the contrary, the memory of Philetairos arguably gained greater success after 132 BC, with a growing number of references to his cult and urban legacy, combined with a consistent tendency to connect his figure with the most distinguished protagonists of 1st-cent. politics in Pergamon. As in many other respects, however, this situation changed with the advent of the Roman *Principes*. There is no proof that the charge of the *prytanis* was still linked with the cult of Philetairos in Imperial Pergamon. On the contrary, the analysis of the evidence confirms that Attalid royal cults survived the end of the dynasty in 132 BC, but not the institution of the *Principatus* about one century later.[53] Even the association of the *prytanis* with the priesthood of Caesar was short-lived and belongs to a transitional phase during the establishment of imperial cults in Pergamon. On the other hand, in the 2nd cent. AD, the city of Pergamon still valued the prestige of its ancient identity, which was shaped by drawing on the pre-Attalid, Attalid, and post-Attalid phases of its history. Thus, while the *Chronicle* underlines the ancient origins of the *prytanis* in the 4th century BC, some members of the civic elite could still be proud of holding an office that had been intimately related to the royal past of Pergamon.

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[53] On this rupture, cf. Caneva 2019, 180; Caneva 2020a, 62–63.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 229–248
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.016.21406
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Foundation Myths in Hellenistic and Roman Cilicia

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Abstract

Ancient cities often adopted elaborated foundation myths to define civic identities. In accordance with the well-known Greek tradition, many Cilician cities claimed to have been founded by Greek gods or heroes. But some other, regardless of their strong Classical and Hellenistic tradition, looked to further references, which were closely linked to indigenous religious traditions (such as, for instance, Mopsos or Sandan). This means that, from a historical and political perspective, not all the Hellenised cities of Cilicia needed or wanted to define their identity through a pure Greek foundation myth. As far as Rome's foundation myths, few attestations are known, almost all of which connected with Roman colonies or with the main cities of the region, Tarsos and Anazarbos. This paper aims at a re-assessment and an overview of various sources – written sources, inscriptions, numismatic evidence and, when possible, archaeological information – with the aim of delineating how this process affected the cities of Hellenistic and Roman Cilicia. We will try to understand how and why Cilician cities decided to revive ancient mythical traditions, or to create new mythical points of reference. Final aim is trying to delineate possible cultural trends or, as an alternative, original solutions in the choices of urban and civic self-propaganda.

Keywords: Cilicia, Anatolia, civic coinage, foundation myths, civic propaganda.

Introduction

Cilicia had a very complex history and, because of its particular geographic setting, was throughout its history from the one side a multifaceted and multicultural region, open to foreign inputs, from the other an almost conservative area, where Anatolian, Hittite/Luwian and other native traditions persisted for a long time. Leaving aside the earlier phases, such as the Persian rule when, for the first time, Cilicia lived a unitary political condition and a first process of urbanisation, we will focus on the analysis of foundation aetiologies in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It is important to stress that the Classical and

Persian periods were a fundamental step for the formation process of a "Cilician identity," and thence many urban aetiologies are firmly anchored in this substratum.

After the campaigns of Alexander the Great, that affected directly Eastern Cilicia, in the Hellenistic period the region was contended by the Seleucids (who controlled almost all the Plain and a portion of Rough Cilicia) and the Ptolemies (who founded some coastal settlements in Rough Cilicia, but whose presence was not long-lasting).[1] Even if some urban centres already existed, the effective process of urbanization in Cilicia was promoted by Alexander and by his successors, albeit the region didn't live a very intense phenomenon of urbanization, if compared to other areas of Anatolia. Urbanization was mainly concentrated in the flat areas of the Eastern portion of the region, and only a few Greek cities, almost all of which located along the coast, are attested in this early period in Rough Cilicia. As far as the Roman province of Cilicia, it had a very complex formation process that started in the mid-1st century BC with the campaigns of Pompey and ended in 72 AD with the formal institution of a united province by Vespasian.[2] It is well known that local principalities and client kingdoms were still alive in Cilicia all over the Hellenistic period and also in the phase of the gradual spread of the Roman power in the region.[3] The varied ethnic and religious composition of the province strongly affected all cultural manifestations, and this can still be perceived in the Roman period.

The multifaceted political and cultural situation of Cilicia resulted in a very mixed culture, with resilient local identities (Luwian anthroponyms were still in use in the Hellenistic and early Roman period),[4] Hellenistic trends introduced by Seleucid and Ptolemaic foundations, with a later assimilation of Roman traditions. All these elements strongly influenced the self-representation of Cilician cities and contributed to the creation of very distinctive foundation myths.

This paper aims at delineating how the process of ideating or highlighting foundations' myths developed in Cilician cities through the overview of the available sources: written sources, inscriptions, but mainly numismatic evidence and, when possible, archaeological information. *De facto* the large part of information available on foundation myths of Cilician cities dates to the Roman imperial period. In a few cases, Hellenistic aetiologies can be deduced from both historical traditions and numismatic sources, but it is often possible to move back to earlier Anatolian, Luwian or Persian myths. The primary evidence derives from civic coins that were a perfect means to convey political messages to a large audience of local but also non-local users. When available, historical and epigraphic sources, sometimes not fully reliable as late mythographers, can integrate the available information. If these latter are direct sources, informing us more or less thoroughly on the mythical origins of cities, numismatic sources offer a different, very simplified but captivating message, that however needs to be interpreted. If contemporary users had all the resources and cultural hints to understand the underlying message given by images, the same is not true for present day scholars who often quarrel on the interpretations.

[1] For an overview of the Hellenistic period in Cilicia, see: Desideri – Jasink 1990; Desideri 1991; Tempesta 2013; Tempesta 2016.

[2] For the formation process of the province of Cilicia, see Liebmann-Frankfort 1969; Freeman 1986; Kreiler 2007; Borgia 2017.

[3] Borgia 2019.

[4] Houwink Ten Cate 1961, 125–187; Borgia 1999, 449–451 (with bibliography).

Borrowing the words of Fergus Millar,[5] we can assert that "the most explicit symbols of a city's identity and status were in coins." But it is important to make a distinction between "civic identity" and "foundation myths." Civic identity can be manifested by local motives, cults and deities, and played an essential role in the cities' self-representation, whereas foundation myths bore a more complex message: combining or selecting local, Eastern, Greek and/or Roman traditions, the cities claimed glorious origins to obtain or maintain a relevant position within the Roman imperial context. This is the reason why many foundation stories or legends became fixed (or re-emerged with specific variants) during the imperial period, much probably being edited on purpose by local historians, poets and rhetoricians.[6] Nevertheless, a foundation myth provides one of the best chances to look deeper into the civic life and to reveal the course of political and economic processes for which very scanty other information is available.

Greek foundation myths

Since a large part of Cilician cities were founded within the urban promotion of the Hellenistic period, it is totally expectable that their aetiologies were linked to a Greek mythological descent. It is remarkable that these origins, that were evidently stressed in Hellenistic coinage, were strongly reaffirmed in the Roman Imperial period, often after a break of more than one century. Apparently, the cities needed to underline their mythical and historical origins, maybe in a specific political phase of re-urbanisation or of monumentalisation, or even within possible rivalries with other cities.

An illustrative case of a Greek foundation aetiology is that of Mopsouestia, whose foundation is to be placed after the war of Troy, as ancient sources clearly state. The toponym itself is revealing. The foundation is ascribed to the Greek prophet Mopsos, son of the prophetess Manto. Mopsos had a central role in the establishment of the sanctuary of Apollo at Klaros and in the colonisation of Pamphylia and Cilicia, where he is considered the founder of Aspendos and Mopsouestia respectively.[7] Later Mopsos and Amphilochos (son of Amphiaraos) had a quarrel during the foundation of Mallos, always in Cilicia, and both died in the fight.

Recent research, and mainly the discovery of the renowned Phoenician-Luwian inscription of Karatepe mentioning the kings of Adana whose dynasty is described as "the house of Mupshu,"[8] suggests that a king called Mopsos was a historical person, as also Eusebius of Caesarea proposed (*Mopsus regnavit in Cilicia a quo Mopsicrenae et Mopsistae*).[9] If we accept this theory, Mopsos might have lived in the late 2nd millennium BC, but of course it is difficult to understand how the mythological tradition and the historical events overlapped.

[5] Millar 1993, 257.

[6] Linant de Bellefont 2011, 26–28.

[7] Photius, *Bibl.* 176.3 (the daughters of Mopsos were Rhode, Melias and Pamphylia).

[8] Obermann 1948; O'Callaghan 1949; Heuchert 2005, 51–55.

[9] Helm 1913, 60.19–20.

The city of Mopsouestia minted only very few bronze coins that maybe recall the mythological founder of the city, starting in the mid-2nd century AD.[10] The identification of the prophet in the standing male bearded figure, draped with chlamys, and with a laurel branch in the right hand, on coins of Marcus Aurelius, Caracalla, Severus Alexander, and Valerianus is still debated (some scholars prefer to interpret him as Apollo). To emphasize the relevance of its oracle, Mopsouestia also issued coins showing a tripod or a burning altar resting on two feet probably referring to the oracle of the prophet Mopsos: these types start in the Hellenistic period, with emissions of Antiochos IV Epiphanes, and persist until the 3rd century AD, even if after a long gap (**Fig. 1**).[11]

Fig. 1. Mopsouestia, coin with tripod of Mopsos on the reverse, 2nd–1st century BC (cp. *SNG Switzerland*, n. 1309)[12]

To the same mythological events, following the end of the Troian War, the foundation of Mallos was connected. Strabo's account is very detailed and recalls the struggle between Amphilochos and Mopsos:

> Nearby, also, is Mallus, situated on a height, founded by Amphilochus and Mopsus, the latter the son of Apollo and Manto, concerning whom many myths are told. [---] But, according to the myth, the contest concerned not only the power of divination, but also the sovereignty; for they say that Mopsus and Amphilochus went from Troy and founded Mallos, and that Amphilochus then went away to Argos, and, being dissatisfied with affairs there, returned to Mallos, but that, being excluded from a share in the government there, he fought a duel with Mopsus, and that both fell in the duel and were buried in places that were not in sight of one another. And today their tombs are to be seen in the neighbourhood of Magarsos near the Pyramus River.[13]

[10] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1337, 1345, 1357; *SNG France 2*, no. 1978, 1997, 1983 (?); *SNG Tahberer*, no. 1067–1068 (Mopsos with lighted altar), 1077–1078 (Mopsos with lighted altar).

[11] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1299–1301, 1303–1313, 1338, 1342, 1354; *SNG France 2*, no. 1938–1942, 1952–1958, 1993; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 982, 985–991, 994–997, 1002, 1058, 1072–1073.

[12] All the images are re-elaborated by the author.

[13] Strabo 14.5.16 (trans. H. L. Jones).

Mallos issued civic bronze coins on which the prophet Amphilochos was proudly evoked as the founder of the city and of the oracular sanctuary giving responses by means of dreams, as Dio Cassius relates.[14] These emissions date from the reign of Hadrian onwards, and the prophet is represented on the reverse standing, holding a laurel branch symbol of divination, with a boar at his feet and, in some cases, with a serpent entwined tripod.[15] In other cases the Tyche of the city receives the civic crown by Amphilochos who holds a sceptre.[16] On the colonial coinage of Severus Alexander, Traianus Decius and Valerianus, Amphilochos is involved in crowning the emperor at the presence of the city goddess, such emphasising the foundation ideological construct, publicly endorsed by the ruling class loyal to the emperor.[17] These commemorative issues concretely give testimony of the integration of various different traditions, chiefly the Roman and regional ones, within the foundation's aetiology of Mallos.

Greek foundation myths: remarking a Greek origin with some indigenous revivals

The development of mythologies, that can be considered as a shared sense of the past, could be used to claim heroes and gods as founders, and thence to raise a city's origin to a higher level.[18] In Cilicia, cities of Seleucid foundation, such as *in primis* Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos founded by Seleukos I (Aigeai and Alexandreia kat'Isson were founded in the early Seleucid era, but it is not certain whether they were a foundation by Seleukos or by its successors), often adopt on their emissions the type of Athena (**Fig. 6**). Athena is the goddess representing civic organisation, and thus she was chosen as patron goddess of various cities, such as Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos, Aigeai, Magarsos but also the already existent Soloi.

Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos strongly stressed its Greek origin through the poliadic cult of Athena Nikephoros. Seleukeia was founded by Seleukos I in 296–280 BC, with a *metoikismos* of settlers coming from the nearby harbour of Holmoi and had an important development throughout the Hellenistic and Roman period. Athena, venerated in a temple on the acropolis, is represented on the obverse of coins of the Hellenistic period in association with the Nike on the reverse,[19] whereas in the Roman period the goddess can assume both the traditional aspect and a more peculiar feature. In fact, the polyadic cult of Athena was enriched and partially transformed with the aim of recalling a local religious tradition, that of the defeat of the anguiped giant. This myth, appearing in different forms and connected to different Greek gods – see for instance Zeus at Olba or at the Korykion Antron –, was firmly anchored to a Luwian (and maybe earlier, Anatolian) tradition and, as far as we know, was largely widespread in a very specific geographic district

[14] Dio Cass. 73.7.1.

[15] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1273, 1279, 1298; *SNG Switzerland Suppl.*, no. 307, 309; *SNG France 2*, no. 1927, 1933–1935; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 961, 966, 975.

[16] *SNG Switzerland Suppl.*, no. 310; *SNG France 2*, no. 1929; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 964.

[17] For these coins and their complex significance, see *infra.*

[18] Price 2005; Malkin 2015.

[19] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 680–689, 703, 708–709, 717; *SNG Switzerland Suppl.*, no. 184; *SNG France 2*, no. 887–916, 934–944, 948–951, 953–955; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 1136–1148, 1162–1163.

of Cilicia between the river Lamos and the Kalykadnos. At Seleukeia, from the reign of Hadrian until Gallienus, the numismatic evidence attests the revitalisation of this indigenous tradition, showing on the reverse Athena holding spear and shield, striking at anguiped giant, who is throwing rock at her (**Fig. 2**).[20] Coins of Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna show Athena standing in a quadriga, bearing the shield on her left arm, with two anguiped giants falling before the quadriga: she is striking spear at serpent legged giant on the left, whereas the one to the right is lying shot by an arrow in the neck (**Fig. 3**).[21] However, the more common representation, that was widespread mainly in the early 3rd century AD, consists of the standing goddess killing a single giant.

Fig. 2. Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos, coin of Gallienus with Athena striking an anguipede giant (cp. *SNG France 2*, n. 1067)

Fig. 3. Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos, coin of Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna with Athena in quadriga striking at anguipede giant (cp. *SNG Tahberer*, n. 1190)

[20] *SNG v.* Aulock, no. 5819; *SNG Switzerland*, no. 719–720, 732, 736, 756, 763–764, 780, 789; *SNG France 2*, no. 964–965, 999–1003, 1005, 1011–1012, 1055, 1059, 1064–1067; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 1172, 1184–1185, 1206–1209, 1214, 1232, 1238–1241.

[21] *SNG Switzerland Suppl.*, no. 190–192; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 1190.

Since the aetiology of this peculiar Athena (maybe to be connected with Athena Alkidemos) only rarely appears in the city's propaganda before the imperial period (we have only a few emissions of the magistrate Demetrios in the 2nd century BC), we are encouraged to imagine that the revival of a very ancient, rooted tradition was aimed at highlighting both the Greek and the autochthonous self-representation promoted by civic élites with an explicit political aim. It is worth recalling that, in the *chora* of Seleukeia, that became later part of the Olban sacerdotal state, a peculiar and unique cult of Athena addressed with the epithets Krisoua and Oreia – whose nature is difficult to reconstruct – was venerated.[22] This goddess, mentioned in various inscriptions, was worshiped in rock cut sanctuaries of a typical Anatolian nature, but the few representations preserved exhibit an almost canonical Greek Athena (with some unusual attributes). Anyhow, at the present state of the research, it is not possible to connect with certitude Athena Oreia with the goddess killing the giant. The presence of the same iconography on the reverse of a bronze coin of Elaioussa Sebaste dated to the reign of Commodus is probably to be interpreted as in imitation of the neighbour city's coinage or as the testimony of the diffusion of Athena Alkidemos' cult in the region.[23]

As far as Ptolemaic foundations, which were concentrated in Cilicia Tracheia and became important points within the Ptolemaic trade network, historical and numismatic sources concerning foundation myths are scarce. Even typical Egyptian cults, such as that of Isis and Serapis, in the absence of direct testimonies from other sources, must not be related with a possible Ptolemaic foundation. Actually, Cilician cities where Isis and Serapis are represented on coins are mainly concentrated in the *Pedias* (such as Tarsos,[24] Anazarbos,[25] Aigeai,[26] Flavioupolis,[27] Eirenopolis,[28] Epiphaneia,[29] Adana,[30] Seleukeia,[31], Elaioussa Sebaste,[32] Olba[33]) and none of them is related to a Ptolemaic foundation. So, we can presume with a good degree of certainty that these coin types (mainly dated to the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD) merely reflect the wide success of Egyptian cults in the Roman imperial period, and possibly the existence of a temple in the city but are not connected to any specific Ptolemaic link.

[22] *MAMA III*, 18–19, no. 33 = Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 367–368, no. Sel107; Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 371, no. Sel124. On this peculiar Athena; Durugönül 1987; Borgia 2003; Sayar 2004; Borgia 2011; Şahin 2016.

[23] *SNG France 2*, no. 1169.

[24] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1008–1009 (age of Hadrian?); *SNG France 2*, no. 1608.

[25] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1489; *SNG France 2*, no. 2109, 2131–2132; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 429–430, 456.

[26] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1696 (age of Claudius), 1734, 1744, 1764; *SNG Switzerland Suppl.*, no. 404; *SNG France 2*, no. 2336, 2343; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 173. Cf. Haymann 2014b, 183–185.

[27] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1553, 1559; *SNG Switzerland Suppl.*, no. 368; *SNG France 2*, no. 2182–2184, 2187–2188, 2191, 2196–2197, 2202–2204; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 705, 710, 714, 720, 725, 732–735.

[28] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1543.

[29] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1828, 1830; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 672.

[30] *SNG France 2*, no. 1862 (Hellenistic period); *SNG Tahberer*, no. 65 (age of Hadrian).

[31] *SNG France 2*, no. 1054; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 1227.

[32] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 662; *SNG France 2*, no. 1181.

[33] *SNG Switzerland Suppl.*, no. 177; *SNG France 2*, no. 856.

Foundation myths in multicultural cities: founder gods

Civic foundation legends, recast in a Greek mould, suggested that it was only Greek founders who were capable of promoting cities in a Hellenised world. But often foundation myths were manipulated or modified according to the specific needs of the city. This did not prevent the perpetuation of local/indigenous and foreign (mainly Syrian and Phoenician) cults and myths in a Hellenised form. A glorious foundation is often claimed honouring a "founder god," that can be considered not simply as the patron god of the city, but in a certain perspective as the effective promoter of civic aetiology and self-representation.

An example of this phenomenon is the goddess Athena at Magarsos, a site probably born to host only the sanctuary but linked to the civic centre of Mallos. The cult of Athena Magarsia is attested since the Hellenistic period on silver coins minted at Mallos by Seleucid kings.[34] In the late Hellenistic and early Roman period a city grew around the sanctuary that was possibly identified on the ground in the site at Cape Karataş.[35] Anyhow, the worship remains mysterious, and the image of Athena Magarsia is known only from coin types which show a blending of Greek and eastern motifs.[36] The goddess appears on Hellenistic silver emissions and, with the same iconography, on bronze provincial coinage starting with the reign of Nero. The cult figure of Athena Magarsia is represented standing facing, wearing a peplos and the aegis, and holding the spear, with Greek characteristics merged with a non-local iconography (**Fig. 4**). The pose falls within the mainstream of indigenous cult statues in Asia Minor and in the Near East, but her dress is Greek. The two rosettes over the shoulders, uncommon among Athena's attributes, have been interpreted in various ways, but possibly recall the Mesopotamian Inanna/Ishtar/Astarte. The occurrence of the goddess on the reverse of coins dated to the 2nd–3rd century AD, in correlation with the turreted, veiled and draped bust of Tyche on the obverse is a clear demonstration of the strong civic nature of this cult. Moreover, on some emissions the goddess is represented with a serpent fringed chiton facing the mythical founder of the city of Mallos, Amphilochos, with an effective juxtaposition of two foundation aetiologies.[37]

Another typical Anatolian goddess, whose nature is only partially understandable, is Perasia, the patron deity of Hierapolis Kastabala.[38] The sanctuary of Perasia was not identified with certitude on the ground, even if some hints are now available[39] so we must analyse coins, inscriptions and ancient sources in an attempt to identify her nature. The goddess in Hellenistic times is known only as Perasia, not as Artemis Perasia, as stated by Strabo in the Augustan age,[40] even though she was equated throughout time with

[34] *SNG v. Aulock*, no. 5722–5724; *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1919–1921; *SNG France 2*, no. 1263–1264; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 948–952. Cf. Ehling – Pohl – Sayar 2004, 93–107.

[35] Rosenbauer – Sayar 2011.

[36] For a detailed analysis of the cult figure of Athena Magarsia, see Houghton 1984. See also: *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1926; *SNG France 2*, no. 1265, 1268–1269, 1272, 1276, 1278, 1280, 1285 (in a tetrastyle temple); *SNG Tahberer*, no. 958.

[37] *SNG Switzerland Suppl.*, no. 311; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 964.

[38] Dupont-Sommer – Robert 1964, 53–64; Ehling – Pohl – Sayar 2004, 107–118; Andrade 2011; Tempesta 2016, 228; Zeyrek 2018, 84–87.

[39] For the most recent hypothesis concerning the localization of the temple: Zeyrek 2018, 91–93 (with bibliography).

[40] Strabo 12.2.7.

several other divinities. Perasia is a typical goddess of Asia Minor, probably of Hittite origins (Lady of Pirwassa), later identified with Kubaba/Cybele/Meter Theon, then again re-emerged with her traditional name in the late Hellenistic and Roman age, as some inscriptions from the city indicate.[41] The connection with Kybele is confirmed by a well-known Aramaic inscription found in eastern Cilicia.[42] We can argue that the inhabitants of Hierapolis-Kastabala manifested an innovative form of civic Greekness through their cult to the native goddess Perasia. On the Hellenistic coins from Hierapolis Kastabala, Perasia is represented in two different ways, often in correlation with the Tyche: as a bust veiled and wearing a mural crown (or sometimes with a peculiar conical hat) with a torch beforehand, or seated in throne, wearing a long garment and *kalathos*, and holding a sceptre and related with a pine tree.[43] All these attributes recall the miraculous ritual of her priestesses in ecstasy who were able to walk safely on burning coals. In the imperial period the city goddess, often overlapped to the Tyche, is only seldom represented.[44]

Fig. 4. Silver tetradrachm of Demetrios I Soter from Mallos, with the cult figure of Athena Magarsia on the reverse (cp. Houghton 1984)

We can trace Phoenician and/or Mesopotamian origins in the well-known Herakles-Nergal from Tarsos, where the figure of the Greek hero overlaps on the local god Sandan, deriving from the Hittite/Luwian Santa, with the insertion of characteristics from the Phoenician Melquart and the Mesopotamian Nergal.[45] This polysemic god must have been of great significance for the civic identity, as he appears on Tarsus' coins from the 2nd century BC to the 3rd century AD (even if with a long gap in the early Imperial

[41] Hicks 1890, 246, no. 16; Heberdey – Wilhelm 1896, 27, no. 59.

[42] Dupont-Sommer – Robert 1964; Andrade 2011, 127.

[43] *SNG v. Aulock*, no. 5568–5569; *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1563–1656, 1571, 1576–1577; *SNG Switzerland Suppl.*, no. 370–371; *SNG France 2*, no. 2207–2208, 2219–2220; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 753–758, 767–771.

[44] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1588, 1596, 1599; *SNG Switzerland Suppl.*, no. 375; *SNG France 2*, no. 2237; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 806–807, 813, 834, 839.

[45] On this cult figure, see the recent paper by Tekin 2021, with references to the wide previous bibliography.

period).[46] Unfortunately, his sanctuary was never identified, and only almost late sources mention a connection between Sandan and Herakles at Tarsos.[47] Sandan is depicted in slightly different ways on the coins, according to time and also to specific ideological choices. Occasionally the god is standing on a horned and winged lion, wearing a *kalathos* and a quiver, holding a bipennis and a wreath (**Fig. 5**); in other occurrences Sandan is standing on a monster, sometimes holding a flower and often within a pyramidal monument (**Fig. 6**); finally, other representations merge some characteristics of the previous ones. Even if the debate on the overlapping of Sandan, Nergal, Herakles is still open, it is not in question that the god was an essential figure for the self-representation of Cilicia's capital Tarsos, recalling its very ancient origins. The eastern traits of the founder god were underlined until the end of the civic coinage, highlighting the Tarsians' pride in being connected with an Oriental tradition.

Also, the Baal assimilated to Zeus represented on pre-Hellenistic satrapic coins of Tarsos,[48] Nagidos,[49] Soloi,[50] Mallos,[51] Issos,[52] Myriandros[53] has its roots in the Mesopotamian tradition and lasts in a few cases until the early Hellenistic age. The legend of these emissions is revealing the original name of the god (Baaltars, Baal), even if the represented standing or seated figure may be assimilated to a more canonical Zeus with peculiar attributes, as the ear of corn or a bunch of grapes. At Rhosos, on the borders between Cilicia and Syria, in the Gulf of Issos, a peculiar type of Baal is exhibited on pseudo-autonomous and Roman imperial issues starting with Augustus and Tiberius.[54] The statue of the god is represented frontal and rests on a basis between two foreparts of bull and the caps of the Dioscuri; he is bearded, with long curled hair, has a cap in the form of a crux ansata and holds ear of corn and pomegranate/thunderbolt. Again, the connection with the Tyche in the pseudo-autonomous emissions underlines the civic aetiology of this Baal. Less understandable is the meaning of the wolf or jackal on the obverse of some of these coins.

[46] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 910–912, 925–938, 940–970, 996, 1009–1010, 1015–1016 (in an arched distyle canopy), 1054, 1076, 1140 (in an arched distyle canopy), 1163; *SNG Switzerland Suppl.*, no. 253–254, 259, 292 (in an arched distyle canopy); *SNG France 2*, no. 1270–1276, 1295–1353, 1407–1409, 1432–1434, 1451, 1522, 1553, 1612, 1707–1708 (in an arched distyle canopy), 1727–1728, 1753, 1770–1772, 1781–1783 (in an arched distyle canopy); *SNG Tahberer*, no. 1328–1333, 1344–1346, 1357–1361, 1363–1405, 1406–1410, 1433–1439, 1450–1452, 1462, 1570 (in an arched distyle canopy), 1615–1617, 1639, 1642–1643, 1652–1656, 1675–1677.

[47] Nonn. *Dion.* 34.192; Agath., *Hist.* 2.24.8.

[48] *SNG v. Aulock*, no. 5968–5972, 5976–5979, 5992; *SNG Switzerland*, no. 67–68, 83–88, 100–118, 120–122; *SNG Switzerland Suppl.*, no. 16, 18–21; *SNG France 2*, no. 233–234, 251–257, 282–300, 312–371; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 1312, 1322–1323, 1760–1764. Cf. Meyer 2011.

[49] Lederer 1931.

[50] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 52–53, 71–74, 76–77; *SNG France 2*, no. 196–198.

[51] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 169–171; *SNG France 2*, no. 389–390, 409–413.

[52] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 178–180; *SNG France 2*, no. 416–420.

[53] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 185–191; *SNG Switzerland Suppl.*, no. 26–28; *SNG France 2*, no. 426–428.

[54] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1853–1857, 1859–1860; *SNG France 2*, no. 2420–2423, 2425–2426; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 1135.

Fig. 5. Silver tetradrachm of Hadrian from Tarsos, with Sandan standing on horned lion (cp. *SNG France 2*, n. 1407)

Fig. 6. Coin from Tarsos, with Tyche on the obverse and on the reverse Sandan standing in a baldachin (cp. *SNG France 2*, n. 1315)

Aetiologies linked to historical/mythological figures

The memory of a historical founder was fundamental to affirm a city's origin, and, in some cases, it could obfuscate and replace even significant earlier mythological foundation myths. This is the case, for instance of Soloi in plain Cilicia, where a settlement is attested since the 2nd millennium BC and whose foundation as a Greek city probably in the 8th century BC is ascribed by ancient sources to various settlers, none of which is referred to by the coins: Solon, the Argives, the Argives and Rhodians from Lindos, or the Achaeans and Rhodian from Lindos.[55] After having been occupied by Alexander the Great

[55] Eust., 875, 25 (Solon); Livy 37.56.7 (Argives); Plb. 21.24.10; Mela 1.13.71 (Argives and Rhodians); Eust., 875, 26; Strabo 14.5.8 (Achaeans and Rhodians).

in 333 BC, the city lived a very prosperous period in the Hellenistic age, when Greek culture flourished thanks to some important poets (Aratos[56], author of the Phenomena, was probably buried in the city's necropolis), philosophers (Chrysippos, Krantor, Athenodoros, Milon) living at Soloi. Some civic bronze emissions dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries display on the obverse the figure or bust of a man who can be possibly identified with Aratos, Chrysippos or Krantor.[57] Coins dated to 163-164 AD represent on the obverse and reverse respectively the busts of an old bearded man, and an old man with a short beard looking up, who were identified traditionally with Chrysippos and Aratos (**Fig. 7**).[58] It is remarkable that, in the Hellenistic age, but also in the Roman period, when a resurgence of mythological aetiologies is attested in other Cilician cities, the coins of Soloi, renamed Pompeiopolis after the conquest of Pompey the Great, never show their archaic Greek foundation myths. On the contrary, the actual re-foundation by Pompey in 66 BC is commemorated not only by emissions contemporary to the events,[59] but also by Imperial coins, from Domitian to Marcus Aurelius bearing on the obverse the bust of Pompey in connection with Athena Nikephoros.[60] Only a single epigraphic document from Soloi-Pompeiopolis commemorates Pompey as *ktistes*.[61]

Fig. 7. Coin from Soloi-Pompeiopolis, with busts of Chrysippos (obverse) and Aratos (reverse) (*SNG v. Aulock*, n. 8712)

The city of Augusta in plain Cilicia, founded (or re-founded) by Augustus in 20 BC and named for Livia (Iulia Augusta), is now unfortunately buried under an artificial water basin. The city is proud of underlining her imperial origin recalling Augustus' wife on coins dated to the early 1st century AD until the age of Trajan. The draped bust of Livia

[56] Suid., 3745; Mela 1.13.71.

[57] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 895 (Philip I); *SNG France 2*, no. 1229 (M. Aurelius and L. Verus), 1238 (Caracalla), 1250 (Gordianus III), 1254 (Philip I); *SNG Tahberer*, no. 1296.

[58] *SNG v. Aulock*, no. 8712; Bacchielli 1979, 31–39. Cf. Papini 2005.

[59] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 875–883; *SNG France 2*, no. 1212–1217; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 1281–1288.

[60] *SNG France 2*, no. 1223–1225, 1231–1232.

[61] *IGR* III, 869.

on the obverse can be associated on the reverse with the Tyche of the city, Athena, or the Capricorn holding a globe, surmounted by a six rayed star.[62] The symbol of the Capricorn, chosen as zodiacal sign by Augustus and referring to *divus Augustus*, recurs again on later emissions of the mid-3rd century AD, turning into a historical-mythological foundation symbol.

A similar situation occurs at Diokaisareia, the city born on the site of the sanctuary of Zeus Olbios, where the emperor Tiberius is mentioned as *ktistes kai soter* in an inscription on a console of the colonnaded street built more than one century later, in the 2nd c. AD.[63] Even if the matter is still debated, since the scholars do not agree on the effective foundation of the city under Tiberius, as the coinage starts with Domitian, and archaeological data do not offer any further clue concerning this period, it is remarkable that a posthumous statue was dedicated to the emperor along one of the main urban streets recalling his role of founder.

It is more than obvious that the city of Selinous, renamed Traianoupolis after the death in its harbour of emperor Trajan (on his way back to Rome after his eastern campaigns), proudly evoked this important "re-foundation" on coin types. Selinus assumed the new name under Hadrian and starting with Marcus Aurelius the title ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ in full or shortened form is recurrent on civic emissions.[64] On certain of these coins, dating from Marcus Aurelius until the mid-3rd century, Zeus probably with the features of Trajan is enthroned in a tetrastyle temple whose pediment is inscribed ΘΕΟΥ ΤΡΑΙ(ΑΝΟΥ), thus emphasising the divinisation of the emperor who gave a new name to the city.[65]

In some specific circumstances, the emperor can be celebrated as *neos ktistes* in combination with the mythical or historical *ktistes* of the city.[66] This is the case for instance of Aigeai in Plain Cilicia, where some silver coins of Hadrian dated to 116–117 AD show on the obverse the emperor's portrait and on the reverse Aigeai's historical founder, Alexander the Great.[67] On the occasion of a possible visit of Augustus in 19 BC, Aigeai had already recalled the memory of Alexander combining him with another *ktistes*, Iulius Caesar. And again, in AD 39–40, Alexander reappeared on coins celebrating an expected visit by Caligula, and moving forward in the imperial age the founder is represented on civic coins until Valerian.[68] This situation is the evidence of how ancient cities valued the extraordinary potential of the cult of the founder and foundation myth in political life and skilfully exploited it.

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[62] An overview on the coinage of Augusta was published by Karbach 1990. See also, for the emissions showing Livia: *SNG v. Aulock*, no. 5531–5533; *SNG Switzerland*, no.1238–1242, 1246; *SNG Switzerland Suppl.*, no. 299; *SNG France 2*, no. 1891–1893; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 534–541.

[63] Borgia 2019b, 153 (with bibliography); for the inscription Heberdey – Wilhelm 1896, 84, n. 160; *IGR* III, 845; Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 332, n. 45.

[64] Levante 1966.

[65] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 460, 464; *SNG Switzerland Suppl.*, no. 91–92; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 1246–1247.

[66] For the qualification of the emperor as founder, see Pont 2007.

[67] On the coins of Aigeai, see Haymann 2014a; Haymann 2014b, 146–148. Cf. *SNG France 2*, no. 2326.

[68] For the representation of Alexander the Great on coins from Aigeai, see: *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1691–1692 (Caligula), 1747, 1750, 1752, 1788, 1791; *SNG Switzerland Suppl.*, no. 400; *SNG France 2*, no. 2315, 2347–2350, 2380, 2387; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 132–134, 139, 222. It is necessary to point out that Alexander is portrayed on many other emissions in Cilicia, such as those of Alexandreia kat'Isson and Epiphaneia, and Aigeai is only considered here as a case study.

Rome's foundation myths

The classic images recalling Rome's foundation myth, such as the she-wolf feeding the twins or the ritual boundaries delimitation, are almost rare on Cilician coins, when compared to the situation of cities in other Eastern Roman provinces.[69] This is not surprising, as these motifs appear on provincial coinage mainly to highlight the acquisition of a colonial status, and Roman colonies were very limited in Cilicia, the few known having been established rather late. On colonial coinage iconographic motifs recalling the foundation of Rome, often accompanied by legends in Latin, were primarily the expression of the cities' new political status, but also a way of constructing a stronger civic identity.[70] The representation of military insignia on coins of Ninica Claudiopolis and Mallus, sometimes flanking an eagle, is maybe referring to the colonists' military past and was again connected with Rome's foundation myth.[71]

In Cilicia, Rome's foundation repertoire, essentially consisting in the traditional image of the she-wolf suckling the twins, sometimes with the *ficus ruminalis* in the background, appears on coins not before the Severan era.[72] This subject is distinctive of the emissions of the capital Tarsos[73] and of the other important city of the Plain, Anazarbos[74]. As is well known, these two cities competed for the primate in the province from the mid-2nd century AD onwards and obtained, one after another, various honorary titles marking their rank (such as *metropolis*, *prote megiste kalliste*, *neokoros*); but neither of them was never granted the title of colony.[75] Therefore, in these cases, the representation of the she-wolf can be probably interpreted, together with the other honorific titles and with the competition for the neokorate, as a way of remarking the higher administrative status and claiming the strict ideological and political connection with Rome.[76]

At Ninica Claudiopolis, the only Cilician city which was awarded the title of Roman colony (*Colonia Iulia Felix Augusta Ninica*)[77] by Augustus, the representation on coins of the she-wolf certainly expressed the new Roman status of the city.[78] However, a wide chronological gap exists between the establishment of the colony and the minting of these coins, that are dated at the earliest in the age of Severus Alexander, probably in the wave of reaffirming the city's origins typical of this period. Other bronze coins of Ninica, dating back to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, Severus Alexander, and Maximinus, display on

[69] On foundation myths in the Near East, see Jellonek 2022.

[70] For a thorough analysis of the numismatic evidence of colonies in Anatolia and the Near East, see Dąbrowa 2004a.

[71] A thorough analysis of the symbolic function of the *vexillum* on colonial coinage was carried out by Dąbrowa 2004b.

[72] For the iconography of the *Lupa Romana* on coins, see Dąbrowa 2004c; Rissanen 2014.

[73] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1053; *SNG France 2*, no. 1503.

[74] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1425; *SNG France 2*, no. 2061–2062. Cf. Ziegler 1985, 117.

[75] Ziegler 1985.

[76] Rissanen 2014, 340.

[77] Two main questions on this city have provoked considerable debate: the first concerns the location of the city, which was set both at present day Mut on the Taurus and at Iouliosebaste on the western coast of Cilicia; the second regards the doubtful identification of the colony of Ninica Claudiopolis with the Claudiopolis mentioned in some inscriptions. On this debate, see Mitchell 1979, 426–435; Tomaschitz 2003.

[78] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 618; *SNG France 2*, no. 791.

the reverse a colonist ploughing (maybe the emperor as founder?) with a yoke of oxen and a standard in the background (**Fig. 8**).[79] This is a clear allusion to the ritual of ploughing the *sulcus primigenius* in Rome, whereas the insignia refer to the veterans who had settled in the colonies. Also other coins from Ninica with two standards, sometimes framing an eagle, may stand for the same message.[80]

Fig. 8. Coin from Ninica Claudipolis with a colonist ploughing (cp. *SNG Switzerland*, n. 621)

Even if colonies set under Septimius Severus and later were probably purely titular foundations, they occasionally presented the foundation scene on civic coins. So, the question arises as to the message conveyed by such coins, maybe merely stressing a legal and cultural colonization. This is the case of the city of Mallos in Cilicia, that was presumably granted a colonial title under the rule of Severus Alexander (in 229–230 AD), as the legend in Latin on some emissions seems to indicate. The Roman she-wolf figures on coins of Mallos in the early 3rd century[81] as a proud manifestation of the city's special connections with Rome. But it is a fact that, in this moment, the colonial status had no practical outcomes, as, from the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 AD onwards colonial promotion did not lead to an effective change of status for the people living in the city. The representation of the Tyche of the city seated between two military standards inscribed SC, at her feet, two river-gods swimming in opposite directions on coins from Mallos of the mid-3rd century AD is perfectly evoking the idea of blending Greek origins and Roman re-foundation as a colony.[82] This is clear evidence of how Roman and local elements were integrated and combined, with the juxtaposition of the foundation topic with local motifs. But the elevation to the status of a Roman colony was a remarkable event for a city,

[79] *SNG v. Aulock*, no. 5772, 5778–5777; *SNG Switzerland*, no. 615–616, 619–621; *SNG France 2*, no. 792; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 1104, 1111–1114.

[80] *SNG v. Aulock*, no. 5765–5766, 5781; *SNG Switzerland*, no. 601, 626.

[81] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1289; *SNG Switzerland Suppl.*, no. 170.

[82] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1286–1287, 1295, 1297; *SNG France 2*, no. 1928; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 971–974.

and therefore the authorities who managed to obtain the title for their settlement proudly communicated this success on coins.

On this perspective it is worth recalling a unique emblematic composition on coins from Mallos, struck under Severus Alexander and Traianus Decius (**Fig. 9**).[83] These emissions show a very complex scene on the reverse, displaying a perfect integration between new colonial patterns and previous local traditions. The emperor occupies the centre of the scene, on the one side being crowned by the mythical founder of the city, Amphilochos holding a laurel branch, on the other offering a small statue of Marsyas to the civic Tyche who holds a cornucopia on the left. He is also holding the reins of a yoke of oxen, depicted on his side or in the lower portion of the coin. The scene can be read as a symbolic refoundation of Mallos as a Roman colony, but in the footsteps of tradition (also the boar in the *exergo* is a symbol of Amphilochos), with Marsyas being a mark of *libertas*.

Fig. 9. Coin from Mallos of Traianus Decius with emperor, Amphilochos, Tyche (*SNG Switzerland*, n. 1291)

Conclusions

It is well known that, throughout antiquity, the question of the origins of cities played an essential role in the life of civic communities, and it was crucial not only for the self-representation of the city itself, but also to the way it was perceived by the others. Cities of the eastern provinces, such as Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine,[84] often adopted elaborated foundation myths to define civic identities and models of mythical or cultural claims. The fact that older local traditions were still alive did not curb this trend. In accordance with the well-known Greek tradition, many cities of ancient Cilicia claimed to

[83] *SNG Switzerland*, no. 1288, 1291–1294; *SNG Switzerland Suppl.*, no. 312; *SNG France 2*, no. 1931, 1936; *SNG Tahberer*, no. 967, 969. See also Jellonek 2018b; Jellonek 2022, 173. Cf. Calomino 2014, 204–205 (for two unpublished bilingual coins of Iulia Mamaea with Amphilochos and Marsyas on the reverse); *RPC* IX 1431–1433.

[84] Belayche 2009; Hirt 2015.

have been founded by Greek gods or heroes. But some other, regardless of their strong Classical and Hellenistic background, looked to earliest references, which were closely linked to local/Luwian/other religious traditions. This means that, from a historical and political perspective, not all the Hellenised cities of Cilicia needed or wanted to define their identity by means of a pure Greek foundation myth.

Even if the process of defining a city's identity through the claim of a mythical foundation was widespread beforehand, in Cilicia (as in other Anatolian provinces and in Syria and Palestine) a new wave of creating or claiming mythical references started in the mid-Imperial period, mainly from the age of Hadrian and the Antonines. Such a phenomenon was likely the result of this period's tendency towards a nostalgic style, maybe also influenced by the Second Sophistic.[85] This was a period when urbanisation and monumentalisation were largely promoted, and certainly this led the cities to try to re-define their origins by means of asserting their distinct and peculiar mythical foundation. If we consider the different level of urbanisation in the two Cilicias—the Eastern portion already provided of important cities since the Hellenistic age (and even earlier), the Western lacking important urban centres until the Hellenistic period, and with an important impulse to urbanisation in the Roman Imperial age—it is possible to explain why foundation myths were strongly reaffirmed in this period, mainly in Rough Cilicia. Here the "new" cities needed to claim a mythological or historical origin to justify their existence. It is interesting to note that also some cities of Plain Cilicia desired to endorse their mythological *ktistai,* such as for instance Mopsos and Amphilochos, even if they appear only in a few and late emissions. But other cities—such as Soloi-Pompeiopolis—that had a very strong aetiological "pedigree," didn't feel the necessity of re-assessing their mythical origins. As it was very well expressed by Pascale Linant de Bellefonds, the reassertion of a mythical or historical identity "served both to mark a city's status in relation to its neighbours as well as to impress the Roman authorities with the age of the city and its merits."[86] Thence, foundation legends, be they a revival of the past or an artificial fabrication of a legendary origin, could also be seen within the context of intercity rivalries, which are well attested in all Asia Minor, and in Cilicia in particular. The explosion of keen civic rivalry among Cilician cities from the 2nd to the early 3rd century AD can possibly explain why the revival of mythical ancestors and of foundation legends on coins appeared or re-appeared in this period, after a wide chronological interruption (or, in some cases, as a completely new trend).

With regard to Roman colonies,[87] the blend of typically Roman colonial myths with the local ones introduces a new syncretic attitude. As the foundation of colonies, mainly in the Severan age and later, was connected with the imperial military activity in the East, we may ask what the purpose was of introducing new iconographic motifs and a new message by switching to Latin. This can be intended as another aspect of Roman influence, highlighting that there were also new receivers of the message, the veterans, who certainly noticed the change.

A final but essential question that arises, and whose answer may give a contribution in solving the above-mentioned questions concerns the identity of the promoters and the

[85] Lichtenberger 2004, 30; Heuchert 2005, 51; Tekin 2021, 102.

[86] Linant de Bellefonds 2011, 26.

[87] Jellonek 2018a.

receivers of such messages. As we are mainly dealing with civic provincial coinage, that rarely circulated outside Cilicia and mainly served for local trade, it is almost certain that the sponsors of foundation types on coins were the local elites, who used this medium as public and official expressions of civic identity, to express pride and to enhance the prestige of their own city. As the epigraphic evidence attests, the wealthy benefactors who provided their own cities with monuments and facilities were often honoured as *ktistai*, as if they could be intended as the new founders of their city, maybe also through the promotion of civic aetiologies.[88] As civic coins circulated mainly locally, their principal receivers will have been the inhabitants (probably pertaining to different social classes) of a city and its territory.[89]

This self-representation and the insistent research of points of reference was also a way of displaying the city's official ideological position and thence its loyalty to Rome and to the emperors. Accordingly, it is also possible that a coordination with central authorities existed, and that some emperors (such as Hadrian, the Antonines, and the Severans) promoted a sort of "archaeological restoration" of mythological foundation legends to assert the cities' successful integration in the Graeco-Roman world.

ABBREVIATIONS

IGR III	–	Cagnat, R. (1906), *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, vol. 3, Paris.
MAMA III	–	J. Keil, A. Wilhelm, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, III, Denkmäler aus dem Rauhen Kilikien*, Manchester 1931.
RPC	–	Roman Provincial Coinage, [https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/].
SNG Switzerland	–	E. Levante*, Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Switzerland I. Levante-Cilicia*, Berne 1986.
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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 249–268
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.017.21407
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Alle origini della festa dei *Brumalia*: la tradizione romulea*

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Abstract
At the Origins of the *Brumalia* Festival: The Romulean Tradition

This paper aims to investigate the historiographical tradition on the *Brumalia*, connected to the memory of Romulus. Starting from their attestation in Malala's historical work, some probable traces of this festival are observed in previous sources, to propose that the process of connecting the memory of Romulus with a festival celebrated between the end of the autumn and the beginning of the winter slowly began from the first century CE.

Keywords: Romulus, Malalas, *Brumalia*.

Il calendario delle festività dell'impero bizantino registra, a partire dal VI secolo d.C., la celebrazione dei *Brumalia.* Per questa fase, Giovanni Lido, Giovanni Malala, Coricio di Gaza, Giorgio Grammatico ed alcune testimonianze papirologiche mostrano la festa in tutta la sua vitalità e consentono di ricostruirne lo svolgimento.[1] Fonti successive, tra

* Questo contributo è esito di ricerche condotte nell'ambito dei progetti PRIN 2022 *The Quality of Life in Greek and Roman Cities: Perception and Policy* (codice progetto n. 2022W8NH4E – CUP H53D23000360006) e *Cultural Heritage Active Innovation for Sustainable Society – CHANGES* (codice progetto n. PE00000020 – CUP: H53C22000860006). Si è potuto inoltre giovare di un soggiorno di studio presso la Fondation Hardt pour l'étude de l'Antiquité Classique (Vandoeuvres).

[1] Lydus, *Mens.* 4.158 (174, 3–31 Wuensch); Malala 7.7 (178, 17–180, 13 Dindorf = 137, 58–138, 95 Thurn); Coricio di Gaza XIII (*dial*. 7.175–179 Foerster, Richtsteig: εἰς τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ Βρουμάλια. ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου); Giorgio Grammatico, εἰς τὰ Βρουμάλια Κολούθου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ (*Poetae lyrici graeci* III Bergk 362–364, sulla cui attribuzione a Giorgio Monaco, cfr. Anastasi 1967, 211–214); *POxy.* 27, 2480, 37–40 (565–566 d.C.).

IX e X secolo, come Costantino Porfirogenito, Giorgio Monaco ed il cosiddetto Teofane Continuato, continuano ad attestarne la celebrazione.[2]

Essa aveva luogo tra novembre e dicembre, in un arco di tempo di ventiquattro giorni e prevedeva banchetti offerti dall'imperatore al senato e a notabili dell'impero, e a loro volta dai notabili al popolo; gli invitati erano ripartiti secondo l'ordine alfabetico del nome: ventiquattro giorni per ventiquattro lettere (da α ad ω). Giovanni Lido nel *de mensibus* segnala come innovazione recente ai suoi tempi il costume di "salutare per nome" i banchettanti,[3] alludendo, attraverso questa espressione, con ogni verosimiglianza, proprio all'offerta dei banchetti in ordine alfabetico.[4] Si tratta di un rapido riferimento che però suggerisce una duplice considerazione; non solo i banchetti offerti secondo ordine alfabetico sarebbero stati un'innovazione di VI secolo nell'organizzazione dei *Brumalia*, ma la festa in sé, come appunto sottolineerebbe Giovanni Lido per questo tramite, avrebbe avuto origini ben più remote: nel VI secolo, come stiamo per osservare, le fonti accreditano la loro istituzione al tempo di Romolo.[5] Il richiamo al mitico fondatore suscita particolare interesse, se torniamo a porre attenzione all'evidenza che i *Brumalia* appaiono con una loro fisionomia ben definita solo a partire dal VI secolo. Obiettivo del presente lavoro è pertanto un tentativo di ricostruzione della tradizione storiografica sulla festività, e delle modalità con cui essa si venne formando, con la ricerca di eventuali tracce sulla sua genesi nelle fonti antecedenti al VI secolo.

È la *Chronographia* di Giovanni Malala la fonte più antica che informa sulla origine dei *Brumalia*; nell'opera storica di Malala è infatti possibile individuare una singolare versione sulla nutrice di Romolo e Remo, che fornisce all'autore l'occasione per ricostruire il legame tra le vicende relative alla sopravvivenza prodigiosa dei gemelli e la festività:

> Τὸν δὲ Ῥῶμον καὶ τὸν Ῥῆμον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἱστοροῦσιν ὑπὸ Λυκαίνης γαλακτοτροφηθέντας, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ὁ Ἀμούλιος, ὁ αὐτῶν πάππος, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ῥιφῆναι εἰς τὰς ὕλας, ὡς πορνογεννήτους, ἐπειδὴ ἡ Ἰλία ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῶν, ἱέρεια οὖσα τοῦ Ἄρεως, ἐφθάρη, πορνευθεῖσα ὑπό τινος στρατιώτου, περὶ οὗ λέγουσι μυθολογοῦντες τὸν Ἄρεα ἐγγαστρῶσαι αὐτήν, καὶ ἐγέννησεν αὐτοὺς διδύμους, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ πάππος αὐτῶν ἔρριψεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ὕλας. καὶ εὗρε τοὺς αὐτοὺς παῖδας χωρική τις, βόσκουσα πρόβατα· καὶ σπλαγχνισθεῖσα, ὅτι ἦσαν εὔμορφα, λαβοῦσα ἔθρεψεν αὐτοὺς τῷ ἰδίῳ γάλακτι. εἰς δὲ τὴν χώραν ἐκείνην λυκαίνας καλοῦσιν ἕως ἄρτι τὰς χωρικὰς τὰς βοσκούσας πρόβατα, ὡς ἀεὶ τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν διαγωγὴν ἐχούσας μετὰ λύκων. Τούτου οὖν ἕνεκεν ὁ Ῥῶμος ἐπενόησε τὰ λεγόμενα Βρουμάλια, εἰρηκώς, φησίν, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸ τρέφειν τὸν κατὰ καιρὸν βασιλέα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σύγκλητον πᾶσαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀξίᾳ καὶ πάσας τὰς ἔνδον τοῦ παλατίου οὔσας στρατιάς, ὡς ἐντίμους, ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὅτε τὰ πολεμικὰ ἔνδοσιν ἔχει. καὶ ἤρξατο πρώτους καλεῖν καὶ τρέφειν τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλφα ἔχοντας τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ λοιπὸν ἀκολούθως ἕως τοῦ τελευταίου γράμματος, κελεύσας καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σύγκλητον θρέψαι τῷ αὐτῷ σχήματι. καὶ ἔθρεψαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν στρατὸν

[2] Costantino Porfirogenito, *de cerimoniis* 2.18 (599, 22–607, 14 Reiske = 153–163 Dagron); Giorgio Monaco 1.15 [ιε΄. Περὶ Ῥώμου καὶ Ῥήμου] (22, 23–23, 19 de Boor, Wirth); Teofane Continuato 6.35 (*Constantini imperium* 456, 21–457, 8 Bekker).

[3] Lydus, *Mens.* 4.158, 174 Wuensch: τὸ γὰρ κατ' ὄνομα χαιρετίζειν ἐν τοῖς Βρουμαλίοις νεώτερόν ἐστι.

[4] Sui *Brumalia* ancora fondamentale Crawford 1914–1919, 365–396. Si rinvia inoltre a Perpillou-Thomas 1993, 107–109; Raccanelli 1996, 27–57; Mazza 2005, 161–178; Bernardi 2006, 53–67; Graf 2015, 189–192; 201–218; Briquel 2018, 169–177; Moreau 2023, 319–335.

[5] Un'ipotesi sull'antichità dei *Brumalia* è lasciata trasparire in Croke 2017 [= 1990], 6. Roberto 2018, 384–401, sull'attenzione di Giovanni Lido alla fase di trapasso dall'età monarchica a quella repubblicana.

ἅπαντα καὶ οὓς ἐβούλοντο. οἱ οὖν ἑκάστου ἀριθμοῦ πανδοῦροι ἀπὸ ἑσπέρας ἀπιόντες εἰς τοὺς οἴκους τῶν καλεσάντων αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ἀρίστῳ εἰς τὴν ἑξῆς ηὔλουν πρὸς τὸ γνῶναι ἐκεῖνον, ὅτι παρ' αὐτῷ τρέφονται αὔριον. καὶ κατέσχε τὸ ἔθος τῶν Βρουμαλίων ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολιτείᾳ ἕως τῆς νῦν. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίησεν ὁ αὐτὸς Ῥῶμος, θέλων ἐξαλεῖψαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὕβριν, ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ ὄντες καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτὸν καὶ λοιδοροῦντες ἔλεγον, ὅτι οὐκ ἐχρῆν αὐτὸν βασιλεῦσαι ἐνυβρισμένον ὄντα, διότι ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων ἐτράφησαν οἱ δύο ἀδελφοί, ἕως οὗ τελείας ἡλικίας ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν, σημαίνοντες, ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαυστόλου τοῦ γεωργοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Λυκαίνης ἐτράφησαν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐσθίοντες, ὡς προγέγραπται. ὄνειδος γὰρ ὑπῆρχε παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ποτὲ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τρέφεσθαί τινα· ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις τοῖς λεγομένοις φιλικοῖς ἕκαστος τῶν συνερχομένων εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ βρῶμα καὶ πόμα μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ κομίζει, καὶ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν πάντα παρατίθεται, καὶ ἐσθίουσιν κρατήσαντες τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος ἕως τῆς νῦν, τὸ μὴ ἀκούειν ἀλλοτριοφάγοι. τούτου χάριν ἐπενόησε τοῦτο ὁ αὐτὸς Ῥῶμος, πρὸς τὸ ἐξιλεώσασθαι τὴν ὕβριν ἑαυτοῦ, καλέσας καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀρίστου ῥωμαϊστὶ βρωμάλιουμ, ὅ ἐστιν τραφῆναι ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, καθὼς ὁ σοφώτατος Λικίννιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων χρονογράφος ἐξέθετο (Malala 7, 7 [178, 17–180, 13 Dindorf = 137, 58–138, 95 Thurn]).[6]

Risalendo alle fasi mitiche della storia di Roma, Malala oblitera nel suo racconto sia la tradizione relativa all'intervento della lupa sia il nome di Acca Larenzia, moglie, come è noto, del mandriano Faustolo che nelle varie versioni del mito avrebbe raccolto Romolo e Remo. Malala individua invece la nutrice dei gemelli in una donna di nome *Lykaine*, con evidente rielaborazione dell'eziologia del mito della lupa; la donna ritrova e salva i gemelli dati alla luce da Ilia ed abbandonati per volere di Amulio, poiché nati da un

[6] «Raccontano che Romolo (*Romos*) e Remo furono allattati da *Lupa* (*Lykaine*), poiché il re Amulio, loro nonno, aveva ordinato che fossero abbandonati nei boschi, come nati da una prostituta, poiché la loro madre, Ilia, sacerdotessa di Marte, era stata sedotta e violata da un soldato. A proposito di quest'ultimo, si narra, traslando la vicenda in mito, che sia stato Ares ad unirsi a lei che diede alla luce i gemelli. Per questa ragione il nonno li aveva fatti abbandonare nei boschi. Una pastorella ritrovò i bambini; mossa a compassione, poiché erano bellissimi, li prese con sé e li nutrì con il proprio latte. Ancora oggi, in quel luogo chiamano le pastorelle *lupe*, poiché esse trascorrono la loro vita in compagnia dei lupi. In ragione di ciò, Romolo ideò i cosiddetti *Brumalia*, ordinando – a quanto dicono – che il re del momento avesse l'obbligo di provvedere al sostentamento di tutto il proprio senato, di coloro che si trovassero in una qualche condizione di privilegio, e di tutte le schiere di coloro che servissero a palazzo, in quanto persone tenute in considerazione, nel tempo dell'inverno, quando le guerre si interrompono. Iniziò a convocare per primi e dar loro da mangiare coloro il cui nome principiava con la lettera a, e così di conseguenza provvide agli altri sino all'ultima lettera dell'alfabeto, ordinando che a sua volta il suo senato fornisse cibo ad altri secondo lo stesso sistema. Così i senatori nutrirono l'intero esercito e quanti vollero. I suonatori di panduri di ciascun gruppo recatisi sul far della sera presso le abitazioni di coloro che li avevano invitati a pranzo per il giorno seguente, prendevano a suonare, per rendere riconoscibile colui presso il quale sarebbero stati ospitati l'indomani. Nell'Impero sussiste ancora oggi la consuetudine dei *Brumalia.* Ma Romolo fece ciò poiché desiderava cancellare il ricordo della propria offesa, giacché i Romani che gli erano nemici e lo disprezzavano ed insultavano, dicevano che era inammissibile che regnasse proprio lui che era stato offeso, nel momento in cui i due fratelli erano stati nutriti da estranei, sino al momento in cui non avevano raggiunto l'età adulta ed avevano regnato; alludevano cioè alle circostanze per cui erano stati cresciuti dal contadino Faustolo e da sua moglie *Lupa*, nutrendosi del cibo d'altri, come è stato scritto. Era infatti motivo di vergogna presso i Romani e gli antichi che qualcuno venisse nutrito da estranei. Pertanto, anche nei banchetti chiamati *philikà*, ciascuno dei convenuti porta a banchetto con sé il proprio cibo e le proprie bevande, pone ogni cosa in comune e tutti mangiano, mantenendo in vita questo antico costume sino ad oggi, cosicché nessuno possa dire di avere consumato cibo altrui. In ragione di ciò, Romolo diede vita a questa consuetudine, allo scopo di riparare alla propria vergogna, dando a questo banchetto il nome di *Brumalium*, in latino, che significa essere nutriti dal cibo d'altri, secondo quanto ha illustrato Licin(n)io, autore romano di un'opera cronografica» (salvo diversa indicazione, le traduzioni si intendono realizzate da chi scrive).

atto di violenza, πορνευθεῖσα ὑπό τινος στρατιώτου, racconta Malala. *Lykaine* è definita prima genericamente come donna dedita alla pastorizia (χωρική τις, βόσκουσα πρόβατα), e solo in seguito, ella viene detta moglie di Faustolo, nel momento in cui Malala fornisce una seconda tradizione sulle ragioni per le quali Romolo avrebbe istituito la festività.[7] Lo storico, infatti, riconduce dapprima l'istituzione dei *Brumalia* alla volontà di Romolo di ricordare e celebrare le circostanze della sua prodigiosa sopravvivenza (Τούτου οὖν ἕνεκεν ὁ Ῥῶμος ἐπενόησε τὰ λεγόμενα Βρουμάλια, εἰρηκώς), ma poco oltre affianca a questa un'ulteriore versione sulla origine della festa. Secondo antichissime credenze (παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις) sarebbe stato disonorevole nutrirsi di cibo altrui; Romolo vi aveva notoriamente fatto ricorso, per le vicende connesse alla sua sopravvivenza: per allontanare da sé la cattiva reputazione di ἀλλοτριόφαγος – di consumatore di cibo altrui – avrebbe istituzionalizzato tale pratica attraverso il pasto offerto in occasione dei *Brumalia.*

Dunque, seguendo le versioni presentate da Malala, Romolo avrebbe dato luogo all'avvio di una festività dal nome *Brumalia* o per onorare il ricordo della donna che lo aveva salvato o per allontanare da sé una cattiva reputazione, offrendo un pasto al suo senato, in ordine alfabetico, ed invitando i senatori a fare altrettanto con altri. I *Brumalia* si presentano così come una festa legata alle dimensioni del banchetto, del nutrimento e dell'accudimento.

Questa versione di Malala che eliminava la memoria tanto della lupa quanto di Acca Larenzia, e legava la narrazione della prodigiosa sopravvivenza di Romolo all'istituzione dei *Brumalia*, ebbe una sua peculiare diffusione nella storiografia bizantina, come si può osservare attraverso una serie di elementi. In primo luogo, questa medesima tradizione è confluita nel *Chronicon* di Giorgio Monaco di IX secolo, sebbene con alcune semplificazioni:

> Ὁ αὐτὸς οὖν Ῥῶμος καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα Βρουμάλια ἐπενόησε διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ διδύμους ἐκ πορνείας τεχθῆναι καὶ ῥιφῆναι ἐν ἀλσώδει τόπῳ καὶ ὑπό τινος ἀγροικικῆς γυναικὸς πρόβατα νεμούσης εὑρεθέντας ἀνατραφῆναι. ὄνειδος δὲ ὑπῆρχε παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τὸ ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων ἐκτρέφεσθαί τινα. διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ἕκαστος τὸ ἴδιον βρῶμα καὶ πόμα κομίζων καὶ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τὰ πάντα παρατιθέμενοι ἤσθιον τὸ ὄνειδος ἐκφεύγοντες μὴ ἀκούειν ἀλλοτριοφάγοι. οὗ δὴ χάριν ἐπενόησε Ῥῶμος τὰ Βρουμάλια εἰρηκὼς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τρέφειν τὸν βασιλέα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σύγκλητον ὡς ἐντίμους ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, ὅταν ἠρεμοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ἤρξατο καλεῖν τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλφα ἔχοντας ὄνομα καὶ ἀκολούθως ἕως τοῦ ω, κελεύσας καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον καλεῖν τῷ αὐτῷ σχήματι καὶ ἐκτρέφειν τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα. ὅθεν οἱ στρατιῶται εἰς τοὺς οἴκους ἀπιόντες τῶν καλεσάντων αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ἀρίστῳ ἀφ' ἑσπέρας ηὗλουν καὶ ἐχόρευον πρὸς τὸ γνῶναι πάντας ὅτι παρ' αὐτῷ αὔριον τραφήσονται. τοῦτο οὖν πεποίηκε Ῥῶμος, ὡς εἴρηται, πρὸς τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς ὕβρεως ἑαυτοῦ, καλέσας τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀρίστου ἐκείνου Βρωμαλιούμ, ὅ ἐστι ῥωμαϊστὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τραφῆναι (Giorgio Monaco 1, 15 [ιε΄. Περὶ Ῥώμου καὶ Ῥήμου] (22, 23–23, 19 de Boor, Wirth.).[8]

[7] Come è noto, alcune tradizioni (*e.g.* Liv., 1.4.6–7) ricordano la prostituzione della moglie di Faustolo, che avrebbe dato luogo al mito della lupa, in quanto quest'ultimo nome sarebbe stato impiegato proprio per alludere alle prostitute. Significativamente, *Lykaine*, nome attribuito da Malala alla moglie di Faustolo, appariva come nome di etera in Luciano di Samosata (*Dial. meret.* 12.1). Sul tema, cfr. Mongelli 2023, 135–141, con bibliografia.

[8] «Romolo (*Romos*) ideò i cosiddetti *Brumalia* per questa ragione. Raccontano che lui e suo fratello furono gemelli generati da uno stupro, esposti in un bosco, e che, trovati da una campagnola dedita alla

Nell'opera di Giorgio Monaco non troviamo nessun riferimento né a *Lykaine* né alla lupa, ma un'allusione a una generica nascita dei gemelli ἐκ πορνείας e al nutrimento fornito loro da una donna di cui non viene indicato il nome. L'autore elimina la celebrazione della nutrice tra le ragioni che avrebbero indotto Romolo ad istituire la festa, e punta decisamente sulla volontà del sovrano di respingere il ricordo dell'antica vergogna connessa all'essersi nutrito di cibo d'altri. Inoltre, Giorgio Monaco cade in un'evidente contraddizione – verosimilmente frutto dell'adattamento della tradizione recepita – più accortamente evitata da Malala: lo storico di VI secolo, parlando dell'ordine alfabetico seguito nell'offerta dei banchetti, sottolinea che l'ordine procede dalla lettera α sino all'ultima lettera dell'alfabeto (ἕως τοῦ τελευταίου γράμματος); Giorgio ritiene che l'ordine alfabetico proseguisse da α ad ω al tempo di Romolo (ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλφα ἔχοντας ὄνομα καὶ ἀκολούθως ἕως τοῦ ω), secondo quanto, invece, doveva accadere al suo tempo.

A dimostrazione della risonanza di cui dovettero godere i *Brumalia*, è forse utile sottolineare che il lessico Suda dedica alla festa un lemma specifico, β 556, che eredita la tradizione presente in Malala:

> ταῦτα ἐπενόησε Ῥῶμος, ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ῥῆμος ἐκ πορνείας γενόμενοι ἐξερρίφησαν καὶ παρὰ γυναικὸς ἀνετράφησαν. ὄνειδος δὲ ἦν Ῥωμαίοις τὸ ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων ἐσθίειν. ἕκαστος ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις τὸ ἴδιον βρῶμα καὶ πόμα ἐκόμιζε, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀκούειν ἀλλοτριοφάγοι. οὗ δὴ χάριν ἐπενόησε Ῥῶμος τὰ Βρουμάλια, εἰρηκὼς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τρέφειν τὸν βασιλέα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σύγκλητον ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, ὅτε ἠρεμοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ α΄ ἕως τοῦ ω΄, κελεύσας καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον καλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας. καὶ μέλλοντες οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπιέναι, ηὔλουν ἀφ' ἑσπέρας πρὸς τὸ γνῶναι ὅπου τραφήσονται. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπενόησε πρὸς τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς ὕβρεως ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Ῥῶμος καλέσας τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀρίστου Βρουμαλιούμ, ὅ ἐστι Ῥωμαϊστὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τραφῆναι (Suid. β 556, *s.v.* Βρουμάλια I.497.12–24 Adler).[9]

È utile, prima di procedere nell'analisi, evidenziare che nella Suda è assente un lemma dettagliato dedicato alle vicende di Romolo o Remo, e il nucleo maggiore di informazioni sul primo re in tutto il lessico è fornito proprio da questa voce. I tre lemmi dedicati

pastorizia, furono da lei allevati. Era però motivo di vergogna presso i Romani essere allevati con cibo d'altri. Per questa ragione, anche nei banchetti, ciascuno portando il proprio cibo e le proprie bevande e mettendo ogni cosa in comune, mangiava riuscendo ad evitare la vergogna della reputazione di consumatori di cibo altrui. Per questa ragione Romolo ideò i *Brumalia*, ordinando che il re avesse l'obbligo di nutrire il proprio senato, in quanto composto da soggetti di rango, durante l'inverno, nel momento in cui i senatori riposano dalla guerra; iniziava ad invitare coloro i cui nomi principiavano con la lettera α, di conseguenza fino alla lettera ω, ordinando che il senato invitasse alla stessa maniera e nutrisse l'intero esercito. Pertanto i soldati, giunti sul far della sera presso le abitazioni di coloro che li avevano invitati a pranzo, suonavano *auloi* e danzavano per rendere noto a tutti presso chi sarebbero stati ospitati all'indomani. Romolo aveva fatto ciò – come si è detto – per allontanare da sé la propria vergogna e stabilì che il nome di questo pranzo fosse *Brumalium*, che in latino significa essere nutrito da cibo d'altri».

[9] «Romolo (*Romos*) ideò questo, poiché egli stesso e suo Fratello Remo, generati da un atto di stupro, erano stati esposti ed allevati da un'altra donna. Era motivo di vergogna per i Romani cibarsi del cibo d'altri. Ciascuno nei banchetti portava il proprio cibo e le proprie bevande, cosicché nessuno possa dire di avere consumato cibo altrui. Per questa ragione Romolo ideò i *Brumalia*, ordinando che il re avesse l'obbligo di nutrire il proprio senato in inverno, quando ci si arresta dagli impegni bellici. Iniziando dalla lettera α e sino alla lettera ω, ed ordinando che il senato invitasse i soldati. I soldati, quando erano sul punto di recarsi da coloro che li avevano invitati, suonavano *auloi* sul far della sera per rendere noto dove sarebbero stati nutriti. Romolo ideò questo per liberarsi della propria vergogna, ordinando che il nome del pasto fosse *Brumalium*, che in latino significa essere nutriti da cibo altrui».

a Romolo / *Romos* sono estremamente brevi e poco significativi: uno si limita a riprendere l'esordio di β 556, rinviando in chiusura a quest'ultima voce (ρ 133); un altro definisce esclusivamente le due varianti del nome come ὀνόματα κύρια (ρ 250); l'ultimo dà conto soltanto dell'accentazione del nome Romolo (ρ 251). Menzioni di Romolo sono sparse in ulteriori lemmi, in alcuni dei quali il personaggio è solo rapidamente citato, in assenza di una voce più ampia a lui dedicata (**tab. 1**).[10]

Tab. 1. Romolo nel lessico Suda

<table>
<tr><th>Lemmi dedicati a Romolo e Remo</th><th>Lemmi contenenti informazioni sul regno di Romolo</th><th>Lemmi contenenti informazioni su eventi immediatamente successivi al regno di Romolo</th><th>Lemmi contenenti mere citazioni del nome Romolo</th></tr>
<tr><td>ρ 133, s.v. Ῥῆμος καὶ Ῥῶμος (IV.291, 13–14)</td><td>β 556, s.v. Βρουμάλια (I.497, 12–24)</td><td>α 4126, s.v. Ἀσσάρια (I.378, 11–15)</td><td>α 2762, s.v. Ἀντωνῖνος (I.248, 18–20)</td></tr>
<tr><td>ρ 250, s.v. Ῥῶμος καὶ Ῥωμύλος (IV.303, 13)</td><td>κ 341, s.v. Καπιτώλιον (III.28, 29–29, 4)</td><td rowspan="5">μ 664, s.v. Μεσοβασιλεύς (III.366, 28–367, 2)</td><td>αι 211, s.v. Αἰμύλα (II.171, 31–172, 2)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">ρ 251, s.v. Ῥωμύλος, Τερτύλος, αἰμύλος, Αἰσχύλος, προπαροξυτόνως (IV.303, 14–15, cfr. τ 360)</td><td>κ 2624, s.v. Κυηρῖνος (III.206, 15–16)</td><td>λ 144, s.v. Λατῖνοι (III.237, 7–12)</td></tr>
<tr><td>ο 504, s.v. Ὀργάς (III.552, 9–10)</td><td rowspan="3">τ 360, s.v. Τερτύλος, Ῥωμύλος, Αἰσχύλος, Αἰμύλος· παροξυτόνως (IV.527, 29, cfr. ρ 251)</td></tr>
<tr><td>π 49, s.v. Παλλάντιον (IV.7, 2–4)</td></tr>
<tr><td>σ 231, s.v. Σεννάτορες (IV.341, 5–14)</td></tr>
</table>

[10] Sul tema, cfr. Mongelli 2023, 146–147. Medesima assenza si registra per Remo: al personaggio, citato in β 556, *s.v.* Βρουμάλια (I.497, 12–24), sono dedicati i lemmi ρ 99, *s.v.* Ῥέμος (IV.288, 24), il cui *interpretamentum* si limita in realtà a fornirne la definizione quale ὄνομα κύριον, e ρ 133, *s.v.* Ῥῆμος καὶ Ῥῶμος (IV.291, 13–14) che, dedicato ai due fratelli, come detto, ripete l'inizio di β 556 (I.497, 12–14). Inoltre, Remo è accostato a Romolo / *Romos* in ο 504, *s.v.* Ὀργάς (III.552, 9–10), ove i due sono rapidamente richiamati dal lessicografo per illustrare a quali personaggi faccia riferimento un breve frammento di Dionigi di Alicarnasso (1.79.12), citato all'interno dell'*interpretamentum.* Infine, vale la pena sottolineare che la Suda fornisce notizie riconducibili alla tradizione sul regno di Romolo anche attraverso frammenti relativi alle vicende di Tito Tazio: τ 150, *s.v.* Τάτιος (IV.507, 24–25), riportato anche in corrispondenza di φ 826, *s.v.* Φυλάξαντες/καὶ Φυλάξασα (IV.773, 3–4).

Va osservato che non si tratta di una pratica seguita in maniera omogenea nel lessico: infatti, se anche per altri dei sovrani della tradizione, come Anco Marzio e Tarquinio Prisco, informazioni di una certa consistenza sono fornite dalla Suda all'interno di lemmi dedicati a temi diversi dalla ricostruzione del profilo storico-biografico del sovrano, ad alcuni di loro sono invece dedicati lemmi "monografici", concentrati specificamente sulla ricostruzione delle vicende dei loro regni; si tratta, in particolare, di Numa Pompilio e Tarquinio il Superbo: a quest'ultimo sono dedicate ben due voci del lessico (**tab. 2**).

Tab. 2. I re di Roma nel lessico Suda da Numa Pompilio ai Tarquini[11]

Numa Pompilio	ν 515, *s.v.* Νουμᾶς Πομπίλιος (III.480, 26–481, 12, con rinvio a χ 333) Cfr. α 2762, *s.v.* Ἀντωνῖνος (I. 248, 19); α 4126, *s.v.* Ἀσσάρια (I.378, 11–15); ν 456, *s.v.* Νομᾶς (III.475, 10); π 2047, *s.v.* Ποντίφιξ (IV.172, 18–23); σ 1128, *s.v.* Στολάς (IV.436, 17: rinvio a χ 333); χ 333, *s.v.* Χλαμύς (IV.809, 15–19)
Tullo Ostilio	ι 114, *s.v.* Ἰδιόξενος (II.610, 14–15)[12]
Anco Marzio	ω 246, *s.v.* Ὠστία (III.627, 14–18)
Tarquinio Prisco	σ 361, *s.v.* Σίβυλλα Χαλδαία (IV.355, 4–6)

[11] La tabella indica esclusivamente voci della Suda nelle quali i nomi dei sovrani della tradizione sono esplicitamente menzionati. Il lessico, infatti, tramanda ulteriori lemmi relativi all'età regia, privi però della menzione esplicita di uno dei sovrani. Si tratta *e.g.* di voci contenenti frammenti di Dionigi di Alicarnasso e degli ἐκ τῆς βασιλικής di Appiano. I frammenti di Dionigi, per la fase considerata, sono richiamati in: **α 4464**, *s.v.* Αὐτάρχεια (I. 417, 23–26), ripreso in **π 2057**, *s.v.* Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος (IV.157, 13–16) = Dion. Hal. 5.12.3; **ο 504**, *s.v.* Ὀργάς (III. 552, 9–10) = Dion. Hal. 1.179.12 (cfr. tab. 1). Per i frammenti di Appiano si rinvia a: **α 4717**, *s.v.* Ἀχρηστία (I.442, 10–12), ripreso in **ο 499**, *s.v.* Ὁρατίος (III.551, 1–3) = 10 Mendelssohn = 8 Goukowsky; **α 4732**, *s.v.* Ἀψιμαχία (I.443, 16–17) = 16 Mendelssohn = 15 Goukowsky; **β 323**, *s.v.* Βλάσφημος (I.475, 7–8) = 7 Mendelssohn = 5 Goukowsky (sulla cui probabile pertinenza al regno di Tullo Ostilio, cfr. Goukowsky 2020, 216; 224–225); **δ 1078**, *s.v.* Δικαιοῦν (II.95, 21–22) = 8 Mendelssohn = 6 Goukowsky (sulla cui probabile pertinenza al regno di Tarquinio Superbo, cfr. Goukowsky 2020, 216; 225); **ε 1439**, *s.v.* Ἔνσπονδος (II.292, 5–6) = 13 Mendelssohn = 11 Goukowsky; **π 568**, *s.v.* Πάρεσις (IV.51, 29–52, 2) = 13 Mendelssohn = 12 Goukowsky. In particolare, il frammento di Dionigi in α 4464 e π 2057 e quelli di Appiano in α 4717 (=ο 499), α 4732, ε 1439, π 568 sarebbero da ricondurre ai momenti immediatamente successivi alla cacciata dei Tarquini; tra questi ultimi frammenti appianei si possono collocare con una certa sicurezza in tale fase quelli tramandati da α 4717 e ο 499, per via della menzione di Orazio Coclite (cfr. Goukowsky 2020, 216; 225), e da α 4732, sulla base di una citazione parallela proveniente dagli *Anecdota Bekkeriana* (148.4), che attribuisce esplicitamente il frammento agli ἐκ τῆς βασιλικής di Appiano. Inoltre, si possono richiamare τ 606, *s.v.* Τίμημα (IV.555, 7–9) e τ 608, *s.v.* Τίμημα (IV.555, 16–17) che tramandano un medesimo frammento di attribuzione incerta, relativo al regno di Servio Tullio, su cui cfr. Favuzzi 2005, 77–83. Sulla presenza della storia romana di età regia nel lessico Suda, cfr. Zecchini 1999, 76; Roberto 2001, 256–257; sull'interesse nella cultura bizantina di X e inizio XI secolo per la storia delle origini di Roma, cfr. Németh 2018, 173–177; 249; Shepard 2022, 48–49.

[12] La voce tramanda un frammento di Appiano dagli ἐκ τῆς βασιλικής (6 Mendelssohn = 4 Goukowsky). Si è scelto di segnalare gli autori degli *excerpta* storici traditi dalla Suda solo in tre casi che presentano il medesimo problema interpretativo; nei frammenti in questione, di limitata estensione, la menzione del nome del sovrano potrebbe apparire ambigua: in ι 114 il re è indicato con il solo elemento onomastico Ὀστίλιος; in η 541 (*infra*, nota 16) e π 2690 con il solo Ταρκύνιος (*infra*, nota 14).

Servio Tullio	σ 244, *s.v.* Σέρβιος (IV.342, 12) (?)[13]
Tarquinio Superbo	1.σ 798, *s.v.* Σούπερβος (IV.399, 9–17); 2.τ 125, *s.v.* Ταρκύνιος Σούπερβος (IV.505, 4–11). Cfr. π 2690, *s.v.* Προσήσεσθαι (IV.225, 27–29);[14] υ 169, *s.v.* Ὕπατοι (IV. 646, 9–11)[15]
Tarquinio *nude dictus*	Cfr. η 541, *s.v.* Ἡροφίλα (II.589, 7–12);[16] τ 126, *s.v.* Ταρκυΐνιος (IV. 505, 12)

La rubrica di Giorgio Monaco dedicata a Romolo e Remo e la voce del lessico Suda sui *Brumalia* presentano le medesime semplificazioni rispetto al testo di Malala: il richiamo della nascita dei gemelli ἐκ πορνείας senza altra indicazione; nessun riferimento né a *Lykaine* né alla lupa, ma esclusivamente al nutrimento fornito da parte di una donna anonima; è obliterata la celebrazione del ricordo della nutrice quale ragione fondativa dell'istituzione della festa. Inoltre, la Suda condivide con Giorgio Monaco la contraddizione relativa all'ordine alfabetico seguito nei banchetti offerti da Romolo da α ad ω (ἀπὸ τοῦ α΄ ἕως τοῦ ω΄). Per di più, i due testi richiamati, eredi della tradizione confluita in Malala, sono estremamente vicini da un punto di vista formale, come mostra una loro comparazione (**tab. 3**).

Se a questo punto è evidente che il *Chronicon* di Giorgio Monaco è la fonte matrice della voce della Suda dedicata ai *Brumalia*, la fortunata tesi di Carl de Boor sull'origine dei lemmi e dei frammenti di argomento storico tramandati dal lessico Suda impone di considerare un'ulteriore fonte nella quale la versione di Malala sulla genesi dei

[13] Si è scelto, seppur dubitativamente, di inserire il lemma in tabella, poiché, pur limitandosi il suo *interpretamentum* ad indicare ὄνομα κύριον. οἱονεὶ δούλων, potrebbe ravvisarsi in esso una allusione alle origini servili di Servio Tullio, ben note alla cultura bizantina, sia precedente sia successiva all'allestimento del lessico. A titolo esemplificativo, si possono ricordare la traduzione greca di Eutropio attribuita a Peanio, ove si legge: Ἕκτος δὲ ὑποδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν Σερούιος Τούλλιος, ἐξ ἐπισήμου γεγονὼς μητρὸς, ἣ καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ δουλείας περιέπεσε τύχῃ, «Come sesto regnò Servio Tullio, caduto in stato di prigionia e shiavitù» (1.7.13.18–19 Droysen); oppure la Σύνοψις χρονική di Costantino Manasse, ove: ἐπωνομάσθη Σέρβιος ὡς γεγονὼς ἐκ δούλης, «fu chiamato Servio, poiché nato da madre schiava» (1647 Bekker = 1646 Lampsidis). Sulla traduzione di Eutropio ad opera di Peanio, cfr. Roberto 2003, 241–245; Roberto 2005, CXXXII–CXXXIII. Sulla Σύνοψις χρονική di Costantino Manasse, cfr. Nilsson 2021, 145–153.

[14] La voce tramanda un frammento di Appiano dagli ἐκ τῆς βασιλικής (11 Mendelssohn = 9 Goukowsky), con menzione del nome del sovrano, sulla cui verosimile pertinenza a Tarquinio Superbo, colto in una fase successiva alla sua cacciata, cfr. Goukowsky 2020, 216; 225.

[15] Come nel caso del frammento di Dionigi di Alicarnasso e dei frammenti appianei, richiamati *supra* alle note 11 e 14, anche l'*excerptum* in υ 169 si situa immediatamente dopo il termine dell'età regia, ponendo però, in maniera eccentrica rispetto al resto della tradizione, l'avvio dell'età repubblicana a seguito della morte di Tarquinio, e non della sua cacciata (ἀποσεισαμένη γὰρ τὴν δουλείαν ἡ πολιτεία μετὰ θάνατον Ταρ κυνίου δύο στρατηγοῖς ἐνιαυσιαίαν ἔχουσιν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπέτρεψε).

[16] Secondo una annotazione in *SOL-Suda On Line* a Suda η 541, il Tarquinio citato in questo lemma sarebbe da identificare, in via ipotetica, con Tarquinio Prisco. Non sembrerebbe però da escludere una identificazione con il Superbo, cfr. Dion. Hal. 4.62; Gell. 1.19; Zonara 7.11. Fonte dell'*excerptum* biografico sulla Sibilla Erofila tramandato nel lemma sarebbe l'*Onomatologos* di Esichio di Mileto (CCCXXVI, 86, 19–25 Flach), cfr. Adler 1931, 589.

Tab. 3. Sinossi tra i testi di Giorgio Monaco e Suda β 556

Giorgio Monaco 1.15 [ιε΄. Περὶ Ῥώμου καὶ καὶ Ῥήμου] (22, 23–23, 19 de Boor, Wirth)	Suda β 556, *s.v.* Βρουμάλια (I.497, 12–24 Adler)
Ὁ αὐτὸς οὖν Ῥῶμος καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα Βρουμάλια ἐπενόησε διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ διδύμους ἐκ πορνείας τεχθῆναι καὶ ῥιφῆναι ἐν ἀλσώδει τόπῳ καὶ ὑπό τινος ἀγροικικῆς γυναικὸς πρόβατα νεμούσης εὑρεθέντας ἀνατραφῆναι. ὄνειδος δὲ ὑπῆρχε παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τὸ ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων ἐκτρέφεσθαί τινα. διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ἕκαστος τὸ ἴδιον βρῶμα καὶ πόμα κομίζων καὶ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τὰ πάντα παρατιθέμενοι ἤσθιον τὸ ὄνειδος ἐκφεύγοντες μὴ ἀκούειν ἀλλοτριοφάγοι. οὗ δὴ χάριν ἐπενόησε Ῥῶμος τὰ Βρουμάλια εἰρηκὼς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τρέφειν τὸν βασιλέα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σύγκλητον ὡς ἐντίμους ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, ὅταν ἠρεμοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ἤρξατο καλεῖν τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλφα ἔχοντας ὄνομα καὶ ἀκολούθως ἕως τοῦ ω, κελεύσας καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον καλεῖν τῷ αὐτῷ σχήματι καὶ ἐκτρέφειν τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα. ὅθεν οἱ στρατιῶται εἰς τοὺς οἴκους ἀπιόντες τῶν καλεσάντων αὐτοὺς ἐπ᾽ ἀρίστῳ ἀφ᾽ ἑσπέρας ηὔλουν καὶ ἐχόρευον πρὸς τὸ γνῶναι πάντας ὅτι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ αὔριον τραφήσονται. τοῦτο οὖν πεποίηκε Ῥῶμος, ὡς εἴρηται, πρὸς τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς ὕβρεως ἑαυτοῦ, καλέσας τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀρίστου ἐκείνου Βρωμαλιούμ, ὅ ἐστι ῥωμαϊστὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τραφῆναι.	ταῦτα ἐπενόησε Ῥῶμος, ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ῥῆμος ἐκ πορνείας γενόμενοι ἐξερρίφησαν καὶ παρὰ γυναικὸς ἀνετράφησαν. ὄνειδος δὲ ἦν Ῥωμαίοις τὸ ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων ἐσθίειν. ἕκαστος ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις τὸ ἴδιον βρῶμα καὶ πόμα ἐκόμιζε, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀκούειν ἀλλοτριοφάγοι. οὗ δὴ χάριν ἐπενόησε Ῥῶμος τὰ Βρουμάλια, εἰρηκὼς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τρέφειν τὸν βασιλέα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σύγκλητον ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, ὅτε ἠρεμοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ α΄ ἕως τοῦ ω΄, κελεύσας καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον καλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας. καὶ μέλλοντες οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπιέναι, ηὔλουν ἀφ᾽ἑσπέρας πρὸς τὸ γνῶναι ὅπου τραφήσονται. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπενόησε πρὸς τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς ὕβρεως ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Ῥῶμος καλέσας τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀρίστου Βρουμαλιούμ, ὅ ἐστι Ῥωμαϊστὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τραφῆναι.

Brumalia avrebbe trovato la sua via, e cioè gli *Excerpta Constantiniana.*[17] In altri termini, il testo di Giorgio Monaco sarebbe stato noto al lessicografo per il tramite di un *Excerptum Constantinianum* proveniente da una sezione non tramandata della raccolta voluta da Costantino VII Porfirogenito, come già rilevato da Ada Adler.[18] Non stupisce peraltro che negli *Excerpta* trovasse spazio una versione sull'origine dei *Brumalia*: il cosiddetto Teofane Continuato offre una vivida testimonianza di sfarzosi *Brumalia* festeggiati proprio da Costantino VII,[19] e lo stesso imperatore ne tratta lungamente nel suo *de cerimoniis* (1.84 e 2.18).[20]

[17] Cfr. de Boor 1912, 381–422; de Boor 1914–1919, 1–127. Sul tema in parte già Krumbacher 1897, 567. Più di recente Németh 2018, 238–255.

[18] Adler 1928, 497.

[19] Teofane Continuato 6.35 (*Constantini imperium* 456, 21–457, 8 Bekker).

[20] Costantino Porfirogenito, *de cerimoniis* 1.84; 2.18.

Le fonti consentono dunque di ritenere che i *Brumalia* fossero una festività estremamente vitale almeno tra VI e X secolo; forse un discreto successo dovevano continuare ad avere nell'XI, se ulteriori testimonianze, come il compendio di Giorgio Cedreno, continuano a riproporre la tradizione apparsa in Malala.[21] Appare però opportuno chiedersi se la tradizione che legava le origini dei *Brumalia* al mito della sopravvivenza prodigiosa di Romolo vada letta esclusivamente come riscrittura bizantina del mito di fondazione di Roma e dei culti connessi, al fine di accreditarne l'antichità,[22] oppure se siano rintracciabili elementi che permettano di collocare in un momento precedente lo sviluppo di questa tradizione.

Innanzitutto, occorre osservare che Malala dichiara la sua fonte: l'inedito legame tra la nutrice di Romolo e l'istituzione di una festa chiamata *Brumalia* sarebbero stati rintracciati da Malala nell'opera di un Licinio χρονογράφος (Malala, 180 Dindorf = 138 Thurn: καθὼς ὁ σοφώτατος Λικίννιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων χρονογράφος ἐξέθετο). È stato supposto dagli studi che il Licinio in questione sia da identificare con lo storico di I secolo a.C. Gaio Licinio Macro: come è noto, Licinio Macro, nella sua opera storica che ci è prevenuta per scarni frammenti, ripercorreva la storia di Roma dalle origini alla fase a lui contemporanea.[23]

La genuinità dell'informazione fornita da Malala rispetto a questa fonte da lui adoperata – Licinio χρονογράφος – è estremamente discussa dagli studi. Hermann Peter incluse il testo di Malala tra i frammenti di Licinio Macro in tutte le sue edizioni dei frammenti degli storici romani (fr. 2*: *HRR*, 1870; *HRF*, 1883; *HRR*, 1914[2]); Siri Walt, editrice dei frammenti di Licinio Macro (1997) inserisce il testo di Malala, invece, tra i frammenti dubbi (fr. 28),[24] opzione seguita sia da Hans Beck e Uwe Walter (fr. 26)[25] sia da Martine Chassignet (fr. 26**), nelle loro rispettive edizioni di storici frammentari, apparse pressoché contemporaneamente (2004).[26] Nella più recente edizione dei frammenti di Licinio Macro, ad oggi l'ultima realizzata, per le cure di Stephen P. Oakley nell'ambito dei (*The*) *Fragments of the Roman Historians*, editi da Timothy J. Cornell (2013), il testo torna ad essere accolto senza remore tra i frammenti dello storico (fr. 12).[27] Non mancano tuttavia voci nel dibattito che ritengono il frammento senz'altro spurio.[28]

Gli altri frammenti riconducibili con maggiore sicurezza a Licinio Macro non sono dirimenti per decidere se includere o no il testo di Malala tra i frammenti dello storico. Vale però la pena ricordare che un suo interesse per questo tema è testimoniato attraverso un frammento noto dai *Saturnalia* di Macrobio; esso conferma che, secondo la tradizione raccolta dallo storico repubblicano, Romolo avrebbe celebrato per Acca Larenzia i *Parentalia*, istituendo anche un *dies festus causa pietatis*:

[21] Giorgio Cedreno 162, 1, 290, 5–8 Tartaglia. Sul metodo di lavoro di Cedreno, cfr. Roberto 2022, 13–15.

[22] Sulle attualizzazioni della più antica storia di Roma in chiave legittimistica nell'età di Giustiniano, cfr. Meier 2003, 141–144.

[23] Cfr. Oakley 2013 (I), 322–331.

[24] Cfr. Walt 1997, 297, con nota 1056 sul legame tra Malala e Licinio Macro.

[25] Cfr. Beck – Walter 2004, 342–345: il frammento non è esplicitamente indicato come dubbio nell'edizione, ma nel commento (345) si ritiene più probabile che Malala conoscesse la tradizione di Licinio attraverso una fonte intermedia (con richiamo di Walt 1997, 297).

[26] Cfr. Chassignet 2004, LV, con nota 274; 102–103; 224–225, nota 1, ove la studiosa non esclude che il testo di Malala possa aver trovato ispirazione dalla tradizione di Licinio Macro, per il tramite di storici intermedi (anch'ella con richiamo di Walt 1997, 297).

[27] Cfr. in questa prospettiva già Jeffreys 2017 [= 1990], 185 e Hodgkinson 1997, 85–92, con bibliografia. Briquel 2018, 169–177 non esclude del tutto l'eventualità che Malala leggesse l'opera storica di Licinio Macro.

[28] Cfr. Bernardi 2006, 64.

Macer Historiarum libro primo Faustuli coniugem Accam Larentiam Romuli et Remi nutricem fuisse confirmat. Hanc regnante Romulo Carutio cuidam Tusco diviti denuptam auctamque hereditate viri. Quam post Romulo, quem educasset, reliquit et ab eo parentalia diemque festum causa pietatis statutum (Macrob., *Sat.* 1.10.17 (Licinius Macer, fr. 1 Peter = 2 Walt = 2 Beck, Walter = 2 Chassignet = 2 Oakley).[29]

Non essendo possibile porre una parola definitiva sulla conoscenza di Licinio Macro da parte di Malala, stante lo stato attuale della documentazione, si può forse provare ad indagare per altra via una eventuale genesi dei *Brumalia* più antica del VI secolo. Risalendo indietro nella documentazione, è infatti possibile individuare in alcuni passaggi del *de idolatria* di Tertulliano brevi ma incisivi riferimenti ad una festa denominata *Brumae*, in occasione delle quali erano previsti lo scambio di doni e l'organizzazione di banchetti, esattamente come nei *Brumalia* bizantini; *ludimagistri* e *professores litterarum*, in quei giorni di festa, sarebbero stati destinatari di speciali *Brumae honoraria*:

Quaerendum autem est etiam de ludimagistris, sed et ceteris professoribus litterarum. (…) (2) *Eoque praestat quaestus et nominibus et honoribus idolo nuncupatus?* (3) *Quam Minerualia Mineruae, quam Saturnalia Saturni, quae etiam seruiculis sub tempore Saturnalium celebrari necesse est. Etiam strenuae captandae et septimontium, et Brumae et carae cognationis honoraria exigenda omnia, Florae scholae coronandae* (Tert., *de idolatria* 10.1; 2–3).[30]

Nobis, quibus sabbata extranea sunt et numeniae et feriae a deo aliquando dilectae, Saturnalia et Ianuariae et Brumae et Matronales frequentantur, munera commeant et strenae, consonant lusus, conuiuia constrepunt (Tert., *de idolatria* 14.6).[31]

Le fonti aprono però ulteriori squarci all'indietro e consentono di seguire le tracce delle *Brumae* e dei *Brumalia* già prima di Tertulliano. A prescindere dalla connotazione festiva, sono infatti ben attestati sin da età repubblicana un giorno nell'anno noto come *Bruma*

[29] «Macro, nel primo libro delle Storie, conferma che Acca Larenzia, moglie di Faustolo, fu nutrice di Romolo e Remo; che durante il regno di Romolo fu data in moglie ad un certo Caruzio, un ricco etrusco, e che si arricchì attraverso l'eredità del marito. Acca Larenzia, in seguito, lasciò quell'eredità a Romolo che aveva allevato, e da lui, mosso da riconoscenza filiale, fu istituita una celebrazione di *Parentalia*, ed un giorno di festa». Per un commento del passaggio, cfr. Walt 1997, 214–218; Hodgkinson 1997, 89–90; Chassignet 2004, 90; Oakley 2013 (III), 420. Di particolare complessità si rivela la questione delle feste istituite da Romolo, sulla base di questo passo: le traduzioni proposte da Martine Chassignet e Stephen P. Oakley suggeriscono una distinzione tra i *Parentalia*, sacrificio funerario, e la festività istituita per celebrare la memoria di Acca Larenzia. Walt 1997, 214–218; Chassignet 2004, 90 e Oakley 2013 (III), 420 identificano tale festa con i *Larentalia / Larentinalia.*

[30] «Ora bisogna investigare sui maestri di scuola ed anche su tutti gli altri insegnanti di lettere (…) E a tal punto è preferibile il guadagno votato all'idolo con appellativi e onori? I *Minervalia* sono di Minerva, come i *Saturnalia* di Saturno, proprio quel dio che è necessario che durante il tempo dei *Saturnalia* sia festeggiato anche dagli schiavi assai infimi; tutte le cerimonie a titolo di onore devono essere portate a termine, anche le strenne devono essere prese, e così il Septimonzio, e bisogna esigere anche quanto si deve in onore della *Bruma* e della *Cara Cognatio.* In onore di Flora le scuole devono essere inghirlandate con corone di fiori» (traduzione a cura di Azzali Bernardelli 2011, 365–367).

[31] «Da parte nostra, invece, benché a noi siano estranei i sabati, le numenie ed i giorni festivi un tempo diletti da Dio, si accorre ai Saturnali, alle Lanuarie, alleBrume ed ai Matronali, i doni vanno e vengono, lo stesso le strenne, i divertimenti riecheggiano, i banchetti fanno strepito» (traduzione a cura di Azzali Bernardelli 2011, 381).

ed una serie di giornate definite *dies Brumales*. Varrone, nel *de lingua Latina*, fornisce un'etimologia per il termine *Bruma*, individuandolo come il giorno più breve dell'anno:

> *alter motus solis est*, [*alter caeli*] *quo*[*d*] *movetur a bruma ad solstitium. Dicta bruma, quod brevissimus tunc dies est* (Varro, *Ling.* 6.2.8 De Melo).[32]

Seguendo Varrone, pertanto, il giorno della *Bruma* doveva corrispondere al solstizio d'inverno. Stando ancora a Varrone, doveva trattarsi di un punto di riferimento importante nell'anno, che ne individuava il corso, giacché l'etimologia della parola *annus* è ricondotta dall'autore ai circoli compiuti dal sole da una *bruma* alla *bruma* successiva:

> *Tempus a bruma ad brumam dum sol redit, vocatur annus, quod ut parvi circuli anuli, sic magni dicebantur circites ani, unde annus* (Varro, *Ling.* 6.2.8 De Melo).[33]

Il punto fisso nel calendario rappresentato dalla *bruma* scandiva inoltre la vita nei campi, come è possibile desumere proprio dagli autori *de re rustica*, Varrone e Columella. La *bruma*, ricorda Varrone, rappresentava il termine delle operazioni di semina;[34] inoltre, è ancora Varrone a ricordarlo, nei *dies brumales* possono essere innestati alcuni alberi da frutto, come i ciliegi.[35] Anche in Columella la *bruma* è una data a partire dalla quale è possibile avviare le coltivazioni, in particolare quelle di leguminose.[36]

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[32] «C'è un secondo movimento del sole, con il quale esso si muove dalla *bruma* al solstizio d'estate. La *bruma* è dunque così chiamata poiché è il giorno più breve». De Melo 2019, 361 traduce *bruma* con solstizio d'inverno; a pagina 812 lo studioso fornisce un dettagliato elenco degli autori che hanno seguito l'etimologia varroniana. Un'altra etimologia fornita da Isidoro di Siviglia (*Etymologiae* 5.35.6) riconnette la denominazione della festa al greco βρῶμα, sottolineandone il legame con il cibo.

[33] «Il tempo in cui il sole torna da una *bruma* alla *bruma* successiva è chiamato *annus*, poiché, come i piccoli cerchi erano detti *anuli*, così i cerchi più ampi *ani*, da cui *annus*».

[34] Varro, *Rust.* 1.34.1: *sexto interuallo ab aequinoctio autumnali incipere scribunt oportere serere usque ad diem nonagensimum unum; post brumam, nisi quae necessaria causa coegerit, non serere, quod tantum intersit, ut ante brumam sata quae septimo die, <post> bruma<m> sata quadragesimo die uix existant.* «Nel sesto periodo a partire dall'equinozio autunnale scrivono che bisogna dare inizio alla semina e proseguirla sino al novantesimo giorno; dopo la *bruma*, a meno che non obblighi una ragione necessaria, non si deve seminare. Ciò è a tal punto importante che alcune piante, seminate prima della *bruma* spuntano dopo sette giorni, seminate dopo a stento germogliano dopo quaranta giorni» (traduzione in Traglia 1974, 663, con lievi variazioni).

[35] Varro, *Rust.* 1.39.2: *itaque alia seruntur atque inseruntur et metuntur ante aut post quam alia; et cum pleraque uere quam autumno inserantur, circiter solstitium inseri ficos nec non brumalibus diebus cerasos.* «Così alcune si seminano, si innestano e si raccolgono prima o dopo di altre. E mentre la maggior parte degli innesti avvengono piuttosto in primavera che in autunno, i fichi si innestano nel periodo del solstizio estivo e i ciliegi nei giorni della *bruma* (*sc.* all'inizio dell'inverno) (traduzione a cura di Traglia 1974, 671, con lievi variazioni). Cfr. anche Varr., *Rust.* 1.45.2: *quae in seminario nata, si loca erunt frigidiora, quae molli natura sunt, per brumalia tempora tegere oportet fronde aut stramentis.*«Le piante nate nei vivai e che sono delicate per natura, se il luogo è un po' freddo, vanno coperte durante l'inverno (*per brumalia tempora*) con foglie o paglia» (traduzione a cura Traglia 1974, 681).

[36] Columella, *Rust.* 2.10.34: *Potest autumno seri nec minus post brumam Ianuarii parte novissima vel toto Februario, dum ante Kalendas Martias, quem mensem universum negant agricolae huic legumini convenire, quod eo tempore satum pecori sit noxium et praecipue bubus, quos pabulo suo cerebrosos reddat.* «Si può seminare d'autunno e anche dopo la prima parte dell'inverno (*post brumam*), nella seconda metà di gennaio e per tutto febbraio; sempre però prima delle Calende di marzo. Gli agricoltori, infatti, dicono che tutto il mese di marzo è inopportuno a questo legume, perché seminato in questo tempo fa male al bestiame, e soprattutto ai buoi che, mangiandone, diventano recalcitranti» (traduzione a cura di Calzecchi Onesti 1977,

Le *brumae* mostrano così sin dalla documentazione di età repubblicana un legame con la dimensione del cibo e del nutrimento, che ritroviamo sia nei *convivia* che si tengono in occasione della festività delle *brumae*, come ricordato da Tertulliano, sia nei *brumalia* bizantini. Tuttavia, restando alla documentazione di età repubblicana, non rinveniamo alcuna traccia di una festività che derivi il suo nome dal sostantivo *bruma.* Lo stesso Varrone nel *de lingua Latina*, pochi paragrafi dopo aver fornito l'etimologia di *bruma* che abbiamo osservato, discute in un lungo elenco le festività che prendono il loro nome da elementi naturali (*Ling.* 6, 3, 12: *a<d> naturale discrimen civilia vocabula die<ru>m accesserunt*): al suo interno non vi è traccia di feste dal nome *Brumae* o *Brumalia.* Ad un certo punto di questo elenco, però, Varrone ricorda la festa dei *Larentalia*, celebrata in onore di Acca Larenzia:

> *Larentinae, quem diem quidam in scribendo Larentalia appellant, ab Acca Larentia nominatus, cui sacerdotes nostri publice parentant[e] festo die, qui ab ea dicitur dies Parent<ali>um Accas Larentias* (Varro, *Ling.* 6.3.23).[37]

I *Larentalia* mostrano una certa vitalità ancora in piena età augustea. Ovidio, nel terzo libro dei *Fasti* ne colloca infatti la celebrazione a dicembre, con richiamo alla dimensione del nutrimento connessa alla festa.

> *lacte quis infantes nescit crevisse ferino,*
> *et picum expositis saepe tulisse cibos?*
> *non ego te, tantae nutrix Larentia gentis,* 55
> *nec taceam vestras, Faustule pauper, opes:*
> *vester honos veniet, cum Larentalia dicam:*
> *acceptus geniis illa December habet* (Ov., *Fast.* 3.53–58).[38]

A conferma di tale vitalità dei *Larentalia* in età augustea, si può ricordare come la festa sia richiamata anche in una delle glosse del *de verborum significatu* di Festo (nota dagli *excerpta* che ne trasse Paolo Diacono), il cui nucleo, come è noto, va ricondotto al dizionario elaborato proprio in età augustea da Verrio Flacco.[39] La glossa festina sembra

131). Cfr. anche Columella, *Rust.* 11.3.13: *Quare peracta bruma tum demum stercus inicietur, et circa Idus Ianuarias humus refossa in areas dividitur.* «Ma il letame si sparga solo dopo la fine del periodo invernale (*peracta bruma*); circa alle idi di gennaio si rinnovi la zappatura e si divida in aiuole la terra» (traduzione a cura di Calzecchi Onesti 1977, 803).

[37] «Le feste *Larentinae* che alcuni scrittori chiamano *Larentalia* sono dette così da Acca Larenzia a cui i nostri sacerdoti offrono ufficialmente un sacrificio funebre nel giorno stabilito, che da lei è chiamato il giorno dei *Parentalia* di Acca Larenzia» (traduzione a cura di Traglia 1974, 193). È necessario sottolineare che il testo del paragrafo 23 presenterebbe alcune corruttele, segnatamente in corrispondenza di *Parent<ali>um* e *Larentias*, correzioni proposte dagli editori (cfr. Kent 1951 [= 1938], 196), in luogo dei *tarentum e tarentinas* restituiti dalla tradizione manoscritta. Hraste – Vuković 2015, 328–335 hanno difeso queste lezioni riconsiderando le fonti che connettono il sostantivo *tarentum* con il Campo Marzio, il Tevere ed il passaggio ad una dimensione oltremondana. Per una rassegna delle proposte degli editori per questo passaggio varroniano, cfr. Mongelli 2023, 151, nota 71.

[38] Ov., *Fast.* 3.53–58: «Chi non sa che gli infanti crebbero nutriti di latte ferino, / e che il picchio sovente portò cibo ai due derelitti? / Non io te tacerò, Larenzia, nutrice di così nobile stirpe, né la vostra assistenza, o umile Faustolo. / Verrà il vostro turno di gloria quand'io canterò la festa / dei Larentali, situata nel mese di dicembre ben accetto ai Geni» (traduzione a cura di Canali 1998, 205–207). Sui *Larentalia*, cfr. Benoist 1999, 137–139.

[39] Sulla tradizione del lessico di Festo, cfr. Todisco 2006, 605–606.

insistere sulla dimensione del nutrimento insita nelle celebrazioni, ponendo al centro della definizione il ruolo di Acca Larenzia come nutrice di Remo e Romolo:

Larentalia: coniugis Faustuli, nutricis Remi et Romuli, Larentiae festa (Fest./Paul. 106L).

Va osservato che proprio con l'età augustea si esauriscono quasi del tutto le testimonianze sui *Larentalia* come festività vitale e celebrata.[40] Si potrebbe forse essere tentati di formulare un'ipotesi sull'origine della festa dei *Brumalia*, a partire proprio dalla data nella quale si celebravano i *Larentalia*. Secondo una delle tradizioni, infatti, la festa si svolgeva il 23 dicembre,[41] un giorno molto vicino al solstizio d'inverno, in cui ricorreva la *bruma*; sarebbe suggestivo, pertanto, proporre che ad un certo momento l'antica festa dei *Larentalia* possa aver assunto la denominazione alternativa di *Brumae*, non solo per la vicinanza della festa al solstizio d'inverno, ma anche e soprattutto per il legame tra la *bruma*, la vita dei campi e dunque la dimensione del nutrimento, connessa al culto della nutrice di Romolo.[42]

Qualora l'ipotesi colpisse nel segno, resterebbe da indagare in quale momento possa essersi verificato questo cambiamento nella denominazione della festa. Una ricognizione di alcune fonti sinora non considerate dagli studi che si sono occupati del testo di Malala e della sua tradizione e ricezione potrebbe suggerire di tornare a porre attenzione all' età flavia.[43] Appare significativa in questa prospettiva la produzione poetica di questa fase, e in particolare quella di Marziale e Stazio. Alcuni epigrammi di Marziale

[40] Cfr. Plut., *Rom.* 4.4: λούπας γὰρ ἐκάλουν οἱ Λατῖνοι τῶν τε θηρίων τὰς λυκαίνας καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς ἑταιρούσας· εἶναι δὲ τοιαύτην τὴν Φαιστύλου γυναῖκα τοῦ τὰ βρέφη θρέψαντος, Ἄκκαν Λαρεντίαν ὄνομα. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ θύουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ χοὰς ἐπιφέρει τοῦ Ἀπριλίου μηνὸς [αὐτῇ] ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἱερεύς, καὶ Λαρενταλίαν καλοῦσι τὴν ἑορτήν. «"Lupe" infatti chiamavano i Latini tanto le femmine del lupo quanto le donne che si prostituiscono, e tale era la moglie di Faustolo, che fu quello che allevò i piccini: si chiamava Acca Larenzia. In suo onore celebrano sacrifici i Romani a lei offre libagioni nel mese di aprile il sacerdote di Marte: chiamano questa festa *Larentalia*» (traduzione a cura di Traglia 1992, 157). Inoltre, si veda Macrob., *Sat.* 1.10.1, *infra* nota 41.

[41] Cfr. Macrob., *Sat.* 1.10.1: *Decimo kalendas feriae sunt Iovis quae appellantur Larentinalia, de quibus, quia fabulari libet, hae fere opiniones sunt.*

[42] Sulla sostituzione dei *Parentalia* o *Larentalia* con i *Brumalia* nel testo di Malala, a partire da una tradizione risalente a Licinio Macro, cfr. Moreau 2023, p. 329, con bibliografia.

[43] L'età flavia, seppur dubitativamente era stata riconsiderata da Graf 2015, 204 sulla base di *Geoponica* 1.5.3–4, il cui nucleo potrebbe rinviare ad un passio di Plin., *Nat.* 18.231: Δημόκριτος δὲ καὶ Ἀπουλήϊός φασι, τοιοῦτον χρὴ προσδοκᾷν ἔσεσθαι τὸν χειμῶνα, ὁποία ἔσται ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἣν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Βροῦμα καλοῦσι, τουτέστιν ἡ τετάρτη εἰκὰς τοῦ Δίου μηνὸς ἤτοι Νοεμβρίου. (4) Ἕτεροι δέ τινες βούλονται ἐκ παρατηρήσεώς τινος, καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῆς τετάρτης εἰκάδος τοῦ εἰρημένου Δίου ἤτοι Νοεμβρίου μηνός, καθ' ἣν τὰ Βροῦμα γίνεται, ἔσεσθαι τὸν ἐφεξῆς Δεκέμβριον μῆνα. καθ' ὁμοιότητα δὲ τῆς πέμπτης εἰκάδος τοῦ αὐτοῦ Νοεμβρίου μηνὸς τὸν Ἰαννουάριον μῆνα. καθ' ὁμοιότητα δὲ τῆς ἕκτης εἰκάδος τοῦ αὐτοῦ Νοεμβρίου μηνὸς τὸν Φευρουάριον μῆνα. τοῦτο δὲ ποτὲ μὲν συμβαίνειν εἴωθε, ποτὲ δὲ οὐδαμῶς. «Democrito e Apuleio affermano che bisogna aspettarsi un inverno tale quale sarà il giorno della festa che chiamano Bruma, il ventiquattro del mese di Giove, cioè novembre. Altri invece preferiscono, sulla base dell'osservazione diretta, che il seguente mese di dicembre sia simile al ventiquattro del detto mese di Giove, cioè di novembre, quando ricorrono le Brume; e che il mese di gennaio sarà simile al venticinque del mese di novembre; e che simile al ventisei del mese di novembre sarà il mese di febbraio. Questo a volte è solito verificarsi, altre volte non succede affatto». Sul tema, cfr. già Crawford 1914–1919, 366; sulla possibilità che un nucleo consistente di fonti dei *Geoponica*, risalga al I d.C., Martin 1972, 250. Su caratteri, fonti e tradizione dei *Geoponica*, significativamente dedicati a Costantino VII: Lelli 2010, VII–XCVII.

ricordano lo scambio di doni in occasione delle *brumae*; nell'epigramma 41 dall'ottavo libro, Marziale afferma di essere triste per non aver ricevuto dall'amico Atenagora un regalo al tempo della *bruma*:

Tristis Athenagoras non misit munera nobis
quae medio brumae mittere mense solet.
An sit Athenagoras tristis, Faustine, videbo:
me certe tristem fecit Athenagoras (Mart. 8.41).[44]

In un altro epigramma di Marziale, sempre proveniente dall'ottavo libro (71), il poeta lamenta di aver ricevuto dall'amico Postumiano doni via via più modesti nell'arco degli ultimi dieci anni, in occasione della *bruma*:

Quattuor argenti libras mihi tempore brumae
misisti ante annos, Postumiane, decem;
speranti plures – nam stare aut crescere debent
munera – venerunt plus ve minus ve duae;
tertius et quartus multo inferiora tulerunt;
libra fuit quinto, Septiciana quidem;
besalem ad scutulam sexto pervenimus anno;
post hunc in cotula rasa selibra data est;
octavus ligulam misit sextante minorem;
nonus acu levius vix cocleare tulit.
Quod mittat nobis decimus iam non habet annus:
quattuor ad libras, Postumiane, redi (Mart. 8.71).[45]

In maniera forse ancora più sorprendente si mostra una analogia con le ritualità dei *Brumalia* nel banchetto offerto da Domiziano a dicembre a diversi gruppi sociali, inclusi i senatori, di cui parla Stazio nel primo libro delle *Silvae* e di cui sembra essere tramandata una vivida rappresentazione anche in Marziale, ancora una volta nell'ottavo libro dei suoi epigrammi:

Orbem, qua melior severiorque est,
et gentes alis insemel togatas;
et cum tot populos, beate, pascas,
hunc Annona diem superba nescit.
I nunc saecula compara, Vetustas,
antiqui Iovis aureumque tempus:

[44] «Atenagora è triste: non ci ha mandato i doni che soleva mandarci nel mese di dicembre (*medio brumae*). Se Atenagora sia davvero triste, questo lo vedrò da me, Faustino, di certo triste Atenagora ha fatto diventare me» (traduzione a cura di Beta 1995, 501).

[45] «Dieci anni fa, nei giorni dell'inverno (*tempore brumae*), mi hai mandato quattro libbre d'argento, Postumiano; l'anno dopo speravo in qualcosa in più (i doni devono aumentare o restare come sono), ma ne sono arrivate più o meno due; il terzo e il quarto anno hanno portato molto meno; il quinto una libbra sola (e, per di più, una libbra Septiciana); al sesto sono arrivato a otto once, a forma di piatto oblungo; l'anno dopo, mezza libbra fatta come una scodella; all'ottavo un cucchiaio più leggero di un sestante; al nono, un cucchiaino che pesava meno di uno spillo. Il decimo anno non ha più nulla da regalarmi: ritorna alle quattro libbre, Postumiano» (traduzione a cura di Beta 1995, 521–523). Cfr. anche Mart. 12.81. Schöffel 2002, 369 e 595, riconose in Mart. 8.41 e 71 un riferimento alla festa dei *Saturnalia.*

non sic libera vina tunc fluebant
nec tardum seges occupabat annum.
Una vescitur omnis ordo mensa,
parvi, femina, plebs, eques, senatus:
libertas reverentiam remisit.
Et tu quin etiam (quis hoc vocare,
quis promittere possit hoc deorum?)
nobiscum socias dapes inisti.
Iam se, quisquis is est, inops beatus,
convivam ducis esse gloriatur (Stat., *Silv.* 1.6.35–45).[46]

Quanta Gigantei memoratur mensa triumphi
quantaque nox superis omnibus illa fuit,
qua bonus accubuit genitor cum plebe deorum
et licuit Faunis poscere uina Iouem:
tanta tuas celebrant, Caesar, conuiuia laurus; 5
exhilarant ipsos gaudia nostra deos.
Vescitur omnis eques tecum populusque patresque
et capit ambrosias cum duce Roma dapes.
Grandia pollicitus quanto maiora dedisti!
Promissa est nobis sportula, recta data est (Mart. 8.49)[47].

Come detto, la proposta di ricondurre ad una fase ben più antica del VI secolo l'origine dei *Brumalia* resta una suggestiva congettura. Quel che però è certamente confermato dalla tradizione bizantina sulla festività è il carattere multiforme del mito di Romolo[48]. A questo proposito, avviandoci alla conclusione, è significativo ricordare che nella versione proposta da Malala è Romolo ad offrire il banchetto al senato. Nella tradizione raccolta dallo storico bizantino, dunque, non incontriamo il Romolo tiranno nei suoi rapporti con il senato,[49] quale emerge, ad esempio, da un famoso frammento del primo libro dell'opera storica di Cassio Dione, che è forse bene richiamare per il notevole peso che ebbe lo storico bitinico nella tradizione storiografica bizantina.

[46] «Offri un banchetto al gruppo più distinto e autorevole dei commensali e, insieme, al popolo togato; e mentre dai da mangiare sontuosamente a tanta gente, tu, superba Annona, ignora questo Giorno! Suvvia, ora, vetusto corso del tempo, paragona questa età a quella dell'antico Giove e a quella dell'oro. Non allora così generosamente scorrevano fiumi di vino né le messi prevenivano il lento corso delle stagioni. Una sola mensa nutre tutte le cateogrie sociali, i bambini, le donne, la plebe, i senatori: la libertà ha rallentato i vincoli della soggezione. Che anzi tu stesso (quale dio potrebbe fare questo invito, quale degli dei potrebbe promettere tanto?) sei venuto a dividere la mensa con noi. Ed ecco che ognuno, chiunque esso sia, ricco o povero, si gloria di essere stato commensale del Principe» (traduzione a cura di Traglia – Aricò 1980, 767–769).

[47] «Grande quanto viene ricordata la cena per il trionfo di Giove sui Giganti, grande quanto durò quella notte per tutti gli immortali, la notte che il buon padre cenò con tutti gli dèi, quando ai Fauno fu lecito chiedere da bere: tanto grande è il banchetto che celebra le tue vittorie; la nostra gioia, o Cesare, rende felici gli stessi dèi. I cavalieri, i senatori e il popolo cenano tutti con te; Roma mangia cibi divini con il suo sovrano. Grandi le promesse, ma quanto più grande il risultato! Ci era stata promessa una sportula, ci è stato offerto un banchetto» (traduzione a cura di Beta 1995, 505–507, con lievi modifiche).

[48] Sul tema, cfr. Scudieri 2023, 25–34, con bibliografia; Wiseman 2024, 1–34.

[49] Una parte degli studi non manca però di evidenziare che la tradizione su Romolo accolta da Malala sia essenzialmente negativa, anche con riferimento all'eziologia dei *Brumalia*. Cfr. Hodgkinson 1997, 92; Praet 2018, 1016–1107; 1025.

> ὅτι ὁ Ῥωμύλος πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν τραχύτερον διέκειτο καὶ τυραννικώτερον αὐτῇ προσεφέρετο, καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους τοῖς Οὐηιένταις..... καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης, ὥσπερ τὰ πολλὰ ἐγίγνετο· ἀγανακτοῦντάς τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ αἰσθόμενος ἄλλα τε ἐπαχθῆ καὶ τέλος εἶπεν ὅτι "ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς, ὦ πατέρες, ἐξελεξάμην οὐχ ἵνα ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ ἄρχητε, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐπιτάττοιμι" (Cass. Dio 1, fr. 5, 11 Boissevain = *Excerpta de sententiis* 9, 409, 31–410, 4 Boissevain).[50]

Nel frammento il sovrano è infatti definito τυραννικώτερος, nel contesto di una decisione di guerra che avrebbe dovuto coinvolgere il senato; restituendo gli ostaggi dei Veienti di propria iniziativa e senza il consenso del senato, come sarebbe dovuto avvenire (ὥσπερ τὰ πολλὰ ἐγίγνετο), ovviamente secondo la tradizione raccolta da Dione, e suscitando per questo lo sdegno dei senatori, Romolo si sarebbe rivolto loro con parole arroganti: "Vi ho scelti, padri, non perché foste voi a darmi degli ordini, ma perché fossi io a dirigervi".[51]

Non si tratta dell'unica testimonianza in questo senso. L'attributo τυραννικώτερος nella definizione dei rapporti di Romolo con il senato ricorreva già in Dionigi di Alicarnasso, nei paragrafi in cui lo storico dava conto della tradizione sulla morte di Romolo ucciso e dilaniato dai senatori (2.56.3: τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκέτι βασιλικῶς ἀλλὰ τυραννικώτερον ἐξάγειν).[52] È significativo, nel contesto di questa caratterizzazione del sovrano ostile al senato, ricordare anche, seppur rapidamente, che secondo Livio, Romolo fu *multitudini gratior quam patribus*.[53]

Al contrario, il Romolo di Malala, in maniera sensibilmente diversa, è dedito a prendersi cura del suo senato, fornendogli il sostentamento vitale, come la sua nutrice e salvatrice avrebbe fatto con lui, almeno secondo una delle tradizioni che lo storico accredita:[54] si tratta, come è evidente, di una lettura del mito fondativo di Roma che fornisce un'immagine di Romolo concorrente a quella del tiranno, e che rivela un enorme potenziale politico, anche in chiave di legittimazione di forme di potere autocratico. Come già sottolineato, che una qualche forma di connessione tra il mito di Romolo e i giorni della *Bruma* fosse in atto in età flavia resta una ipotesi; senz'altro pare strano che il potenziale di cui si è detto – insito in questa tradizione sul mito fondativo di Roma – non sia stato colto dagli imperatori prima del VI secolo e che solo allora abbia fatto la sua comparsa per fornire l'eziologia dei *Brumalia.* Al netto delle incertezze, però, quel che la tradizione sui *Brumalia* senz'altro conferma – colta all'interno delle molteplici varianti sul mito romuleo – è il carattere proteiforme di tale mito e la sua continua e cangiante rielaborazione a seconda delle fasi e degli obiettivi perseguiti da chi valorizzava questa icona, in senso positivo o negativo.

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[50] Cass. Dio 1, fr. 5, 11 Boissevain = *Excerpta de sententiis* 9, 409, 31–410, 4 Boissevain: «Romolo assunse un atteggiamento piuttosto tracotante nei confronti del senato e prese a comportarsi verso lo stesso in maniera particolarmente tirannica. Restituì gli ostaggi dei Veienti per sua decisione autonoma, e non comune, come accadeva per le alter questioni. Rendendosi conto che i senatori erano risentiti per questo ed altre cose gravi, disse infine: "Vi ho scelti, padri, non perché foste voi a darmi degli ordini, ma perché fossi io a dirigervi"».

[51] Sul frammento dioneo, cfr. Madsen 2019, 104–108.

[52] Dion. Hal. 2.56.3–4. Cfr. anche Plut., *Rom.* 27.5.

[53] Liv. 1.15.8.

[54] In Mongelli 2023, 155 una ipotesi sulla derivazione da Giulio Africano di questa tradizione differente da quella testimoniata da Dione. Già Roberto 2009, 71–81; Roberto 2015, 211; Roberto 2016, 274 e Roberto 2017, 49–69, sul rilievo di Giulio Africano tra le fonti di Malala.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 269–279
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.018.21408
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

La scelta del nome Augusto. Qualche ulteriore considerazione

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Abstract

The Choice of the Name Augustus: Some Further Considerations
The theme of "foundation" runs through political debate and propaganda throughout the 1st century BCE. This contribution revisits the issue of the attribution of the name *Augustus* to Octavian in January 27 BCE, focusing on reasons put forward by Munatius Plancus, in support of the name *Augustus* rather than *Romulus*. Particular attention is given to a key detail: the adjective *amplius*, which along with *novum*, characterizes the name *Augustus*.

Key words: Augustus, Romulus, Suetonius, Verrius Flaccus.

Il motivo del *constituere rem publicam* percorre con ostinazione l'ultimo secolo avanti Cristo:[1] rappresenta nel convulso e continuo divenire di questa fase, e all'interno della più generale teoria degli stati (Cic., *Rep.* 1.45), il compito, affidato alla politica, di definire una *forma* sana di *res publica*. La sostanza di questa operazione, come trapela dalle fonti antiche, doveva contenere un momento riformista (*commutatio*); esso poteva essere di entità variabile: da una legge (*e.g.* Ascon., *Scaur*. 21C)[2] alla completa trasformazione dell'assetto della *res publica* (Acc., *Brutus* 668–672 in Cic., *Div*. 1.45.6–10).[3]

[1] Todisco 2013, 121–144.

[2] In merito alla legge, poi annullata, di M. Livio Druso sui tribunali: *M(arcus) quoque Drusum tribunum plebis cohortatus sit ut iudicia commutaret*.

[3] In un frammento del *Brutus* di Accio, riferito da Cicerone nel suo *de divinatione*, si legge di un sogno fatto da Tarquinio il Superbo in cui il mutamento del corso del sole annunciava il passaggio dalla monarchia alla repubblica: *(…) nam id quod dé sole ostentúm est tibi/ pópulo commutátionem rérum portendít fore/ pérpropinquam. Haec béne verruncent pópulo! Nam quod ad dexteram / cépit cursum ab laéva signum praépotens, pulchérrume/ aúguratum est rém Romanam públicam summám fore*.

In questa prospettiva si leggono esplicitamente, da Silla in avanti, gli incarichi *rei publicae constituendae causa*: compiti da intendersi non solo come volti al rafforzamento degli schemi istituzionali esistenti, ma persino, dinanzi a situazioni di pericolosa deriva dello stato, come destinati alla ricerca di una *aliqua forma rei publicae,* per adoperare il lessico ciceroniano. È significativo, è stato osservato, che dopo Augusto il sintagma *constituere rem publicam* scompaia e si trovi adoperato in fonti cronologicamente successive con richiamo ad usi del primo secolo avanti Cristo.[4]

Ebbene, lo sforzo di *constituere rem publicam* recupera ideologicamente, con chiara finalità politica, nel corso del I secolo a.C., il motivo della fondazione (o ri-fondazione) dello stato e il riconoscimento dell'autore del cambiamento quale *conditor* di un nuovo corso: il processo ben esprime lo spirito di una fase della storia della Repubblica romana in cui si afferma un certo personalismo in politica, sorretto dalla deresponsabilizzazione dei cittadini piuttosto propensi a delegare ad un uomo forte la guida dello stato e la risoluzione dei suoi problemi.[5] Questo tema e la sua propaganda inevitabilmente coinvolgono Romolo, il fondatore di Roma.

La riflessione sull'uso della figura di Romolo e del suo impiego politico da Silla ad Augusto è di lungo corso nella storia degli studi; ne sono stati approfonditi, anche di recente, significativi snodi e sviluppi in momenti topici di questo lungo secolo: in relazione a Silla, Cesare, Ottaviano.[6] È senza dubbio evidente che la rappresentazione del primo re oscilla nel dibattito e nell'agone politico, tra il fondatore dell'*Urbs* e il tiranno o il fratricida, ossia, corrispettivamente, tra legittimazione e delegittimazione.

Questo contributo è dedicato al motivo della fondazione nella costruzione ideologica augustea; in particolare senza voler riprendere la complessa questione, il lavoro è concentrato su un elemento di dettaglio: il valore di *amplius* (comparativo di *amplum*) adoperato da Munazio Planco nella sua *sententia* in senato, a suffragio della scelta di *Augustus* quale *cognomen*[7] onorifico da attribuire ad Ottaviano, al posto di *Romulus* che pure aveva i suoi sostenitori; il contesto è quello della nota seduta del gennaio del 27 a.C.,[8] la cui più completa versione è stata restituita da Svetonio nella sua *Vita Divi Augusti* (7).

In quella famosa circostanza, il tentativo di legare indissolubilmente *Romulus* a *Octavianus*, tramite l'attribuzione al secondo del nome del primo, *quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis*, non andò a buon fine, almeno non completamente. Il giovane Ottaviano arrivato nella *curia*, dopo aver portato a termine il suo compito di restituire alla libertà la *res publica*, trasferì all'arbitrio del senato e del popolo romano i poteri straordinari che

[4] *E.g. Sen., Dial.* 11 (*Consolatio ad Polybium*) 16.1.

[5] Pani 2013, 22–30.

[6] La bibliografia è amplissima, cito solo qualche titolo; di particolare riferimento Ver Eeck 2008; nello specifico si vedano, tra gli altri, i contributi di Carsana 2017, 88, sul Romolo filo-senatorio di matrice postsillana acquisito da Cicerone nel racconto del *de re publica*, e più in generale sull'influenza del presente nella elaborazione della tradizione; Carsana 2019, 177–204, sul I a.C.; si veda anche, di recente, sulla tradizione di Romolo nel I a.C. e i suoi usi politici, Scudieri 2023, 25–36.

[7] Adopero nel testo genericamente nome, per corrispondere alla oscillazione presente nelle fonti antiche tra *nomen* e *cognomen*.

[8] La data è oscillante: nei *Fasti Praenestini* (*Inscr.It*. XIII.2.17) si riferisce il 16 gennaio; dubbio il *Feriale Cumanum* (*Inscr.It*. XIII.2.44), su cui Todisco 2007, 441–442 nt. 3; nei *Fasti* poetici *di* Ovidio (1.590) la data è il 13 gennaio; cfr. Simpson 1994, 299–301; Wardle 2015, 167 nt. 3; Bellissime – Hurlet 2018, 70 nt. 114.

aveva trattenuto fino a quel momento, e fu insignito, *pro merito,* tramite senatoconsulto,[9] di quegli *honores* che, tutti insieme, gli conferirono l'*auctoritas* che egli, come si legge nel capitolo 34 delle *Res gestae*, pose alla base del suo futuro ruolo: la corona di alloro, la corona civica,[10] lo scudo istoriato, il nome onorifico *ex virtute Augustus*.[11]

Il rendiconto di Svetonio (*Aug*. 7), riguardo a quest'ultimo onore, è posto alla fine di un bel paragrafo di onomastica politica[12] in cui sono elencati i nomi che Ottaviano acquisì nelle varie fasi della sua vita sia privata sia pubblica, a partire dalla infanzia:[13]

> *Infanti cognomen Thurino inditum est, in memoriam maiorum originis, vel quod regione Thurina recens eo nato pater Octavius adversus fugitivos rem prospere gesserat. Thurinum cognominatum satis certa probatione tradiderim, nactus puerilem imagunculam eius aeream veterem, ferreis et paene iam exolescentibus litteris hoc nomine inscriptam, quae dono a me principi data inter cubiculi Lares colitur. Sed et a M. Antonio in epistolis per contumeliam saepe Thurinus appellatur, et ipse nihil amplius quam mirari se rescribit, pro obprobio sibi prius nomen obici. Postea Gai Caesaris et deinde Augusti cognomen assumpsit, alterum testamento maioris avunculi, alterum Munati Planci sententia, cum, quibusdam censentibus Romulum appellari oportere quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis, praevaluisset, ut Augustus potius vocaretur, non tantum novo sed etiam ampliore cognomine, quod loca quoque religiosa et in quibus augurato quid consecratur augusta dicantur, ab auctu vel ab avium gestu gustuve, sicut etiam Ennius docet scribens:*
>
> *Augusto augurio postquam incluta condita Roma est.*

A proposito della scelta del nome da conferirgli Svetonio ricorda che alcuni senatori pensavano a *Romulus*; fu l'intervento di uno dei più noti e autorevoli generali cesariani, Munazio Planco, a proporre e a far preferire *Augustus*, un *cognomen*, si legge, non soltanto *novum* ma anche *amplius* rispetto a *Romulus*. Lo storico Cassio Dione (53.16.7–8) dà altresì conto di questo evento e riferisce che il giovane Ottaviano in persona desiderava vivamente, all'inizio, essere chiamato *Romulus*,[14] confermando in qualche modo un attivo e consapevole intervento del futuro *princeps* rispetto alla individuazione dell'onore che gli sarebbe stato conferito; Svetonio tace a questo riguardo.[15]

Avendo dedicato circa vent'anni fa alcune pagine alla scelta e al significato del nome *Augustus,*[16] ritorno in questo contributo su un elemento allora trascurato: il valore di *amplius*.

Nel passo della *vita di Augusto* al quale si sta facendo riferimento è probabile che lo storico di età adrianea stesse citando gli atti della seduta a cui si alludeva poc'anzi e che potesse, pertanto, leggere la *sententia* di Munazio Planco nella sua trascrizione[17]; quest'ul-

[9] Per la modalità di conferimento dell'onore, Todisco 2007, 443 nt. 7.

[10] Todisco 2007, 441–442.

[11] Ma anche Vell. 2. 91; Cens. 21.

[12] Todisco 2007, 442–443.

[13] Se Svetonio cita, tra i *nomina* di Ottaviano, *Thurinus*, *Caesar* e *Augustus*, Servio nel suo commento al v. 292 del I libro dell'Eneide (*Remo cum fratre Quirino iura dabant*) ricorda *Quirinus*, *Caesar* e *Augustus*.

[14] Su *Romulus* in relazione ad Augusto, Ver Eecke 2009, 445–486.

[15] Wardle 2014, 106. Peraltro la notizia tramandata dai biografi antichi di Virgilio della lettura delle Georgiche da parte del poeta ad Atella in Campania (*Vitae Vergilianae antiquae, Donat*. 27) suggerisce che Ottaviano fosse a conoscenza della sua assimilazione a Quirino. Sulla eventuale partecipazione di Ottaviano alla elaborazione della sua onomastica, Todisco 2007, 443–445; Wardle 2014, 106; Wallace Hadrill 2016.

[16] Sul nome *Augustus*, con bibliografia precedente, Todisco 2007, 443 e nt. 6; Wallace Hadrill 2016, 264–271.

[17] Wallace Hadrill 2016, 265, ritiene verosimile che il Senato avesse reso pubblico il testo di concessione dell'onore e che quindi non sia necessario supporre che Svetonio avesse letto gli *acta*.

timo avrebbe avanzato a sostegno della sua proposta di insignire Ottaviano del *cognomen Augustus potius quam Romulus*, la ragione che il primo fosse non soltanto *novum* ma anche *amplius* rispetto al secondo. Il motivo della *novitas* del nome *Augustus* è già stato spiegato in altro studio: l'aggettivo *augustus/a/um* era stato fino a quel momento adoperato per qualificare oggetti, spazi, funzioni correlati con il sacro e legittimati dalla divinità tramite l'*augurium*;[18] per la prima volta nel gennaio del 27 esso veniva attribuito ad un uomo, e diveniva un *nomen/cognomen.*[19] Se il tema della *novitas* è già stato discusso ed interpretato, in ombra resta, come si anticipava, l'aggettivo *amplus/a/um* al grado comparativo. Esso è reso nelle traduzioni del testo latino in varie lingue per lo più nel senso di solenne, magnificente, onorifico e grandioso:[20]

LOEB (J.C. Rolfe 1964): Plancus carried the proposal that he should rather be named Augustus, on the ground that this was not merely a new title but a more honourable one.

BUR (F. Dessì 1968): prevalse la proposta di Munazio Planco di chiamarlo invece Augusto non tanto per attribuirgli un nome che non era mai stato usato prima quanto per il significato onorifico di quella parola.

UTET (I. Lana 1952): prevalse il parere di Planco di appellarlo piuttosto Augusto con un soprannome non soltanto mai dato a nessuno, ma anche di significato più grandioso.

Garzanti (Noseda 1977): ma alla fine prevalse il soprannome di Augusto, sia per la sua novità, sia per la sua grandiosità.

Les Belles Lettres (H. Ailloud 1981[5] [= 1931]): (…) mais ce fut le surnom d'Auguste qui prévalut, tant à cause de sa nouvauté que de son caractère plus grandiose.

Zanichelli (G. Vitali, 1990): prevalse il parere che si chiamasse Augusto con nome non soltanto nuovo ma anche più magnifico.

Latomus (N. Louis 2010): le surnom d'Auguste l'avait emporté non seulement par sa nouveauté, mais encore par son caractère respectable.

Les Belles Lettres (G. Flamerie de Lachapelle 2016): Munatius fit prévaloir son point de vue consistant à l'appeler de préférence Auguste: ce surnom était non seulement nouveau mais aussi plus imposant.

Rusconi (F. Orpianesi 2023): prevalse il parere di Munazio Planco di chiamarlo Augusto (…); il soprannome non solo era inusitato ma anche più solenne.

Queste traduzioni dell'aggettivo *ampliore* vanno riconsiderate. È utile partire dalla osservazione che *amplius* è adoperato da Svetonio proprio nello stesso passo con accezione per così dire quantitativa, nel senso di: niente oltre, niente di più:

> *(...) et ipse nihil amplius quam mirari se rescribit, pro obprobio sibi prius nomen obici.*
> *(...) egli risponde niente di più che: Mi meraviglio che mi sia rinfacciato il nome precedente come un insulto.*

[18] Todisco 2007, 445–447, con la rassegna delle fonti antiche in merito.

[19] Va segnalato l'uso dell'aggettivo *augustus* al grado comparativo, evidentemente per distinguerlo dall'invalsa attribuzione ad Ottaviano, da parte di Livio per semidei e uomini speciali: Ercole (Liv. 1.7. 9); Romolo (1.8.2) e Decio Mure al momento della *devotio* (Liv. 8.9.10). Todisco 2007, 449 e nt. 23 con bibliografia precedente.

[20] Wallace Hadrill 2016, 265, interpreta altresì l'*amplius* nell'ambito della sua riflessione sul *cognomen* Augusto con solenne: "it is the citation that establishes that Augustus is an appropriate name for a second founder of Rome, and therefore does the work of "Romulus", while adding novelty and solemnity".

Nelle *Vitae* di Svetonio l'aggettivo *amplus/a/um* ricorre, anche al comparativo, in numerosi altri luoghi (*e.g. Iul.* 76.1: *sed et ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est*; *Aug.* 94.6: *Atque etiam nocte videre visus est filium mortali specie ampliorem*), ossia con riferimento ad una estensione e un ampliamento che va oltre qualcosa o qualcuno.

È decisivo per cogliere il valore dell'*amplius* riferito al *cognomen Augustus* osservare che esso compare in un passo di altro autore, la cui correlazione con la *sententia* di Munazio Planco è già stata osservata:[21] la glossa *Roma* presente nel lessico di Verrio/Festo (330L);[22] nel caso particolare si tratta di un lemma giunto in condizione frammentaria, ma suggestivo di considerazioni:

> Fest. 330L: *per auguria decre[verunt---]naretque, ac deorum [---Ro]mulum urbem cond[idit et appellavit eam Romam] potius quam Romul[am---ut amplio]re vocabuli signifi[catu prosperiora patriae] suae ominaretur*.

La versione di Festo, epitomatore di Verrio Flacco, si apre con un richiamo agli *auguria*, quindi segue una sezione corrotta il cui testo è parzialmente recuperato grazie a quanto si acquisisce da Paolo Diacono (327L), epitomatore a sua volta di Festo: *Romam Romulus de suo nomine appellavit, se ideo Romam, non Romulam, ut ampliore vocabuli significatu prosperiora patriae suae ominaretur*.

Si apprende, pertanto, che la città fu fondata da Romolo il quale la chiamò *Roma* anziché *Romula*, in ragione dell'*amplior significatus* di questo *vocabulum*, presagio di un futuro prospero per la patria. L'argomentazione in merito alla scelta del nome della città fondata da Romolo è la medesima di quella contenuta nel discorso di Munazio Planco a sostegno del nome *Augustus*. In entrambi i casi il nome *Romulus* è scartato a fronte di un *nomen amplius*, o meglio di un *nomen* dall'*amplior significatus*; nel caso di Roma doveva essere ῥώμη, ossia, in greco, forza ad essere *omen* di *prosperiora* per la città. È proprio il significato *amplior* rispetto a *Romula* di *Roma* a far preferire il secondo nome al primo, e finanche a privare il suo *conditor* dell'eponimia.

È opportuno osservare che lo stesso *amplior*/*amplius* nella forma di aggettivo e avverbio ricorre altrove nell'opera di Verrio/Festo, sempre indicando estensione, ampiezza; si consideri, esemplificativamente, la glossa *manubiae* (114L), in cui vi è la sequenza *minimae /maiores/ampliores*: *Manubiae Iovis tres creduntur esse, quarum unae sint minimae, quae moneant placataeque sint. Alterae quae maiores sint, ac veniant cum fragore, discutiantque aut divellant, quae a Iove sint, et consilio deorum mitti existimentur. Tertiae his ampliores, quae cum igne veniant.*[23]

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[21] Todisco 2007, 447–448.

[22] Dibattuto è il titolo dell'opera di Verrio Flacco e della epitome di Festo, tra *de verborum significatu/significatione/significationibus*; De Nonno 1992, 174–180, ritorna sulla questione ed esclude *de verborum significatu* per la epitome di Festo, preferendogli *de verborum significatione*, mentre ritiene che *de verborum significatu* fosse il titolo del lessico di Verrio, come si apprende da Festo 228L. Su questo Todisco 2011, 57 nt.1. Nel presente testo si adopera la titolazione *de verborum significatu* quando si fa riferimento al lessico di Verrio *stricto sensu* e quando si cita la edizione Teubner curata da M. W. Lindsay (1913).

[23] Cfr. *s.v. minora templa* 146L: *Minora templa fiunt ab auguribus cum loca aliqua tabulis aut linteis sepiuntur, ne uno amplius ostio pateant, certis verbis definita*; s.v. *ruscum*, 320L: *Ruscum est, ut ait Verrius, amplius paullo herba*, *et exilius virgultis fruticibusque, non dissimile iunco*.

È possibile subito osservare, proprio attingendo alla glossa *Roma*, che l'espressione *ampliore cognomine* della *sententia* di Munazio Planco può essere innanzitutto sciolta nel senso suggerito in quel testo da Festo/Paolo, ossia *cognomen* dotato di un *amplior significatus* rispetto a *Romulus*.[24]

La somiglianza delle due circostanze e del vocabolario usato per renderne conto non devono essere considerati casuali, dato che l'autore della glossa *Roma* è Verrio Flacco, figura interna all'entourage di Augusto incaricato della formazione dei suoi due nipoti e; autore dei *fasti Praenestini*: un personaggio, dunque, addentro ai contesti di elaborazione del principato augusteo, e ben noto a Svetonio che gli dedica una sezione nella sua opera sui grammatici (Suet., *Gramm.* 17).

Prima di ogni ulteriore considerazione a proposito del valore dell'aggettivo, conviene recuperare alcune ipotesi già avanzate sul significato del nome *Augustus.*

Come si è detto, sono i versi di Ennio che chiudono la *sententia* di Munatio Planzio ed, essi partono con una figura etimologica, *augusto augurio*; l'auspicio favorevole degli dei costituisce la premessa per la fondazione della città: *postquam incluta condita Roma est.* L'aggettivo *augustus* si connette, quindi, strettamente al sostantivo *augurium*. Nella restituzione di Svetonio questo legame è anticipato: *quod loca quoque religiosa et in quibus augurato quid consecratur augusta dicantur*. Segue, quindi, il richiamo alle modalità adoperate per compiere le operazioni augurali, non prima della inserzione dell'altra possibile etimologia di *augustus*: *ab auctu vel ab avium gestu gustuve.*

Questa ultima parte, dopo *ab auctu,* si rinviene, sempre nel lessico di Verrio/Festo nella glossa *augustus* (2L):

> *Augustus locus sanctus ab avium gestu, id est quia ab avibus significatus est, sic dictus; sive ab avium gustatu, quia aves pastae id ratum fecerunt.*

L'aggettivo *augustus* designa, pertanto, un luogo reso *sanctus* proprio dalla pratica augurale; e non è forse un caso che *augustus* sia seguito nell'impaginazione del testo del *de verborum significatu* nella edizione curata da Lindsay, da *augur* (*Augur ab avibus gerendoque dictus, quia per eum avium gestus edicitur; sive ab avium garritu, unde et augurium*) e da *auspicium* (*auspicium ab ave spicienda. Nam quod nos cum praepositione dicimus aspicio, apud veteres sine praepositione spicio dicebatur*). L'ipotesi etimologica che fa derivare *augustus* da *augur* si arricchisce, a partire da Ovidio (*Fast*. 1.609–612), di una seconda variabile ossia la derivazione di *augustus* da *augere;* senz'altro le due esplicazioni, viste *a posteriori*, andrebbero considerate non tanto alternative quanto interconnesse: è l'*augurium* a generare l'accrescimento, a sollevare su un altro piano chi ne è beneficiato.

Merita riguardo la considerazione etimologica, appena citata, riportata nel passo di Svetonio e inserita nel bel mezzo della *sententia* di Planco (*Aug.* 7). L'ipotesi è che potesse trattarsi di un intervento del biografo;[25] su questa considerazione si è proficuamente espresso Andrew Wallace Hadrill nel 2016; egli coglie una effettiva contraddizione

[24] Wallace Hadrill 2016, 266, ritiene che per Verrio dovesse esserci una stretta relazione tra la etimologia di Augusto e quella di Roma, io riterrei piuttosto che la correlazione sia nel metodo di scelta del nome.

[25] Todisco 2007, 447: "salvo il riferimento etimologico che potrebbe essere una glossa erudita di Svetonio".

tra l'idea della circolazione di conoscenze e idee tra politici ed esperti di *antiquitates*, che doveva convincentemente caratterizzare l'entourage di Augusto, dedito alla elaborazione della nuova forma politica, ideologica e istituzionale che andava prendendo piede, e l'attribuzione a Svetonio di quell'intermezzo che ritorna simile in VerrioFesto/Paolo a meno di non suporre, come da lui proposto, la caduta del passaggio relativo ad *augere* nella fase di redazione della epitome: una eventualità certo possibile, ma difficile da dimostrare, considerata anche la progressiva diffusione e circolazione dell'etimo *augere* per *augustus*.[26]

Sembra, invece, piuttosto verosimile ritenere che Svetonio, il quale senz'altro ben conosceva l'opera di Verrio e la successiva elaborazione etimologica, fosse intervenuto nel testo della *sententia* di Planco, solo con l'aggiunta della possibile derivazione di *augustus* da *augere* ormai circolante, subito dopo *non tantum novo sed etiam ampliore cognomine, quod loca quoque religiosa et in quibus augurato quid consecratur augusta dicantur* che può essere attribuita a Munazio Planco. La presunta e verosimile data di redazione del *de verborum significatu* da parte di Verrio Flacco in piena età augustea, dopo il 13 a.C.[27] potrebbe far supporre che Verrio stesso interno al sistema augusteo, abbia trasposto nella glossa *Roma* come nella glossa *Augustus* (ma il discorso può espandersi ad altre glosse) le vicende e i processi di elaborazione in corso o già compiuti, che trovavano una sistemazione nelle definizioni lessicali annoverate nella sua opera.

Che il discorso di Munazio Planco in Senato contenesse una nota etimologica non stupisce; questo richiamo sarebbe perfettamente coerente con l'uso della etimologia a fini politici e ideologici attestato nel I secolo a.C., proprio da Marco Terenzio Varrone, il quale affidava alla pratica etimologica la proposta di modelli istituzionali e politici atti a rispondere alla crisi; si considerino ad esempio etimologie dal forte valore programmatico, quali *curia*, *consul*, *praetor*, contenute nella sua opera storica *de vita populi Romani*.[28] Come si sa nel libro V (7–8) del suo *de lingua Latina*, Varrone aveva infatti sistemato in un quadro teorico i gradi della esplicazione etimologica, da quello immediatamente comprensibile anche dal volgo all'ultimo, quello intuitivo, affidato alla perizia di pochissimi. L'etimologia in qualche modo consentiva di acquisire l'elemento generatore del nome, una volta che il tempo, nel suo scorrere, aveva obliterato o travisato l'essenza stessa del nome.[29] La restituzione della occasione della nascita della parola riportava in essere l'atto primigenio, ne riproponeva il valore e ne restituiva il vigore. In tal senso l'etimologia in un discorso

[26] Wallace Hadrill 2016, 265, non esclude, appunto, che, trattandosi di una epitome, possa essere stata tagliata la parte con la derivazione da *auctu*; è tuttavia altresì difficile pensare ad un taglio su un termine della importanza di *augustus* e per il quale la tradizione successiva insiste sulla derivazione da *augeo* (si veda per la totale propensione per *augere*, Isid., *Orig.* 9.13.16: *Augustus ideo apud Romanos nomen imperii est, eo quod olim augerente rem publicam amplificando*). Sulla discussione etimologica, Todisco 2007, 452 e ntt. 37–40.

[27] Glinister 2007, 24.

[28] Per *curia* Todisco 2016, 487–495; per *consul*, Arena 2021, 568–569; Todisco 2024, 93–103; per *praetor*, Todisco 2025, 323–347.

[29] Tra i numerosissimi studi sulle etimologie di Varrone, soprattutto in prospettiva linguistica e filosofica: Romano 2003, 99–117; Blank 2008, 49–73; Piras 2017, 8–20; Spencer 2019, 11; Amendolara 2021, 47–66; Oniga 2022, 4–25; Lazzerini 2023, 279–312; Lazzerini 2023 (2024), 154–200 (con una interessante notazione sulla influenza stoica in materia etimologica sulla produzione antiquaria, nel segno del recupero nostalgico del tempo antico come migliore rimedio per i mali del presente). Per il quarto grado di spiegazione etimologica, di recente De Melo 2019, 657; Amendolara 2021, 54–61; Oniga 2022, 7–8, con bibliografia precedente.

politico come quello di Munazio Planco poteva svolgere una funzione significativa, in quanto consentiva, tramite il nome, di far rivivere un atto, un valore nella sua originaria consistenza. Con *augustus* si materializzava l'*augurium* che era stato preliminare alla fondazione, e che portava con sé la benedizione degli dei su quanto stava per compiersi.

È da tenere suggestivamente conto, proprio in merito all'apporto dei saperi *de antiquitatibus* e, nella fattispecie di Varrone e delle sue opere nelle fasi istruttorie del Principato, che nel *de re rustica,* la cui redazione risale al 37 a.C., in particolare nel terzo libro, Varrone cita i versi di Ennio menzionati da Munazio Planco proprio in riferimento alla fondazione di Roma, mentre affronta una questione di capitale importanza, come quella della data di fondazione della città, che Ennio avrebbe collocato un secolo e più avanti rispetto a lui (3.1.2):

> *Etenim vetustissimum oppidum cum sit traditum graecum Boeotiae Thebae, quod rex Ogygos aedificarit, in agro Romano Roma, quam Romulus rex: nam in hoc nunc denique est ut dici possit, non cum Ennius scripsit: septingenti sunt paulo plus aut minus anni / augusto augurio postquam inclita condita Roma est.*

Varrone inserisce entro il solco della storia universale la notizia della fondazione di Roma (proprio come aveva fatto nel suo *de gente populi Romani* del 43 a.C.):[30] essa segue, infatti, la notizia fondativa della più antica città greca, Tebe in Beozia, ad opera di Ogyge.

Non è da escludersi, considerata la centralità della cultura *de antiquitatibus* nella costruzione del Principato augusteo, la notorietà e l'autorevolezza di Varrone, ben presenti ai contemporanei, che vi fosse stata una qualche sua influenza, diretta o indiretta, nella individuazione dell'epiteto onorifico di Ottaviano.[31] Come Andrew Wallace Hadrill bene considera, è complicato stabilire se la proposta di Munazio Planco fosse già stata programmata o fosse nata proprio in Senato, sebbene l'importanza della questione e la selezione per nulla prevedibile del *nomen Augustus* lasci pensare a riflessioni e azioni preparatorie che avevano forse richiesto una consulenza esperta.

Si ritorni in conclusione al quesito di partenza, il significato della maggiore "ampiezza" del nome *Augustus* rispetto al nome *Romulus*. Vale la pena di restare sulla connessione tra l'augusto augurio e la fondazione: l'*augurium* è preliminare alla fondazione della città da parte di Romolo. Un motivo, questo, ben presente negli *Annales* di Ennio e recuperato nella riflessione ciceroniana di I a.C. (Enn., *Ann.* 1.7.3, 76 Skutsch = Cic., *Div.* 1.107; *e.g.* Cic., *Div.* 1.3–9: *Principio huius urbis parens Romulus non solum auspicato urbem condidisse, sed ipse etiam optumus augur fuisse traditur*).[32]

Il nome *Augustus*, che evocava quindi l'augurio e anche il primo degli auguri, Romolo, andava, pertanto "ben oltre (questo il valore di *amplius*)" il *nomen Romulus*; di certo recuperava la potenza evocatrice del fondatore, ma ne teneva da parte la compromissione col *regnum* e alcuni atti condannabili associati anche ad eventi del recentissimo passato.

[30] Moatti 2015, 72–73 = Moatti 1997, 78–79.

[31] Todisco 2017, 60.

[32] Berthelet 2015, 308.

Esso, inoltre, distingueva, con il suo forte richiamo all'*augurium*, la (ri)fondazione di *Octavianus* da tutte quelle tentate nel corso del I a.C. da parte di Silla, di Pompeo, di Cesare, persino di Cicerone, tutti richiamatisi a Romolo; esprimeva l'avvenuto *augurium*, quindi la benevolenza degli dei e la loro legittimazione a proposito della nuova fondazione dell'*urbs* da parte di Ottaviano, che si poneva su un piano diverso dalle altre.

È evidente che le storie dei due fondatori, Romolo e Augusto, furono, per certi versi, fatte collimare, anche allusivamente: si pensi al ben noto racconto dell'avvento, nel 43 a.C., di Ottaviano console a Roma accompagnato dall'auspicio favorevole manifestato dal volo dei dodici uccelli (Suet., *Aug*. 95.2; App., *BC* 3.388; Cass. Dio 46.46.2), proprio come si raccontava in merito alla fondazione leggendaria della città da parte di Romolo (Enn., *Ann.* 4.155, 84 Skutsch = Varr. *rust*. 3.12 = Suet. *Aug*. 7).

Non dimentichiamo, peraltro, che Cassio Dione riferisce, si è detto, di un Ottaviano desideroso di ricevere il nome Romolo; lui stesso, ormai *Augustus*, non desistette mai dal voler essere ricordato quale salvatore e fondatore di un *optimus status*, come scrive (*Aug*. 28.2) in un noto editto, dal forte obiettivo programmatico, che si colloca tra il 27 e il 17 a.C.:[33] *Ita mihi saluam ac sospitem rem p. sistere in sua sede liceat atque eius rei fructum percipere, quem peto, ut optimi status auctor dicar et moriens ut feram mecum spem, mansura in uestigio suo fundamenta rei p. quae iecero.*

Peraltro è difficile non scorgere, ancora una volta, proprio in questo testo la *iunctura*, *fundamenta iecero*, adoperata da Cicerone in riferimento a Romolo e a Numa, nel *de natura deorum* del 44 a.C. (3.2.5):

(…) *Romulum auspiciis, Numam sacris constitutis fundamenta iecisse nostrae civitatis* (…).

Ottaviano, ormai *Augustus*, proprio come *Roma* rispetto a *Romula*, pur portando con sé la tradizione del primo fondatore e primo augure, si spingeva oltre i destini di lui, per alcuni versi oscuri e pericolosi. Il *cognomen Augustus*, *non tantum novum sed etiam amplius*, ossia "non soltanto nuovo ma più ampio nel significato" proiettava Ottaviano oltre in una luce nuova; lo liberava da assimilazioni già sperimentate e in parte discutibili, esprimeva il beneplacito degli dei sulla sua propria fondazione dell'*urbs* e della *res publica*. È opportuno, a questo punto, tornare a ricordare la glossa *Roma* di Verrio/Festo, essa proponeva al lettore esperto contemporaneo una voluta sovrapposizione tra Ottaviano e Roma: per la loro denominazione, infatti, era stato fatto fare un passo indietro a Romolo, fondatore: i nomi prescelti contenevano gli *omina* di un futuro prospero. Ottaviano, era il *conditor/auctor* benedetto dagli dei tramite l'*augurium*: era *sanctus*.[34] In qualche modo il nome sanciva quanto stabilito da sempre nei destini della città e del mondo (Vell. 2.60.1):

(...) adserebant salutaria rei publicae terrarumque orbis fata conditorem conservatoremque Romani nominis.

[33] Judge 1974, 302; Zecchini 1996, 131.

[34] Dal 30 a.C. in avanti Ottaviano fu insignito di numerosi onori riferibili all'ambito sacrale: i sacerdoti e le sacerdotesse nelle preghiere per il popolo romano e il senato pregavano per lui; nei banchetti pubblici e privati erano fatte libagioni in suo onore (Cass. Dion. 51.19.7); nel 29 a.C. il suo nome è inserito, accanto a quello degli dei, unico fra i viventi, nel carme dei sacerdoti Salii; gli stessi onori del 27 sono ammantati di sacralità, vedi anche Kienast 1982, 92–95.

Il tentativo di *constituere rem publicam* giungeva così, nella percezione sua e verosimilmente di molti suoi contemporanei, al compimento; nessuno, per il momento, doveva pensare di poter apportare ulteriori cambiamenti (Macr. 2.4.18).

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 281–293
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.019.21409
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Ktistēs as an Honorific Title in Roman Asia Minor*

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Abstract

The term *ktistēs*, more recent and more polysemous than *oikistēs*, was nevertheless used in ancient sources to designate the mythological or historical founder of a community. From the first century BC onwards, a new meaning and new contexts of use of this term developed: it became part of the honorific vocabulary used by cities to praise individuals whom they wished to reward or distinguish. As a title officially awarded by civic institutions, it assimilated the person who received it to a new founder. This paper, based on the results of an overall study on the honorific titles attested in Asia Minor during the Roman period, sheds light on the genesis of the title *ktistēs*, its geographical and chronological distribution, the status of the individuals to whom it was granted and the nature of their action in favour of the community—which, contrary to an old opinion, was not limited to financing constructions.

Keywords: *ktistēs*, *oikistēs*, civic honours, honorific titles, benefactions, gymnasium, Hadrian.

In the first decade of the emperor Hadrian's rule, the entrance to the city of Perge in Pamphylia, in the south-west of Asia Minor, underwent important construction work. The south gate from the Hellenistic period was renovated and completely restructured: it was turned into a monumental complex with two round towers, an arch, and porticoes. The inscriptions engraved on the arch and on statue bases of deities and members of the imperial family which adorned the complex reveal the name of the person responsible for this ambitious restoration: Plancia Magna.[1] Belonging to a senatorial family, this very rich woman apparently chose to live in her home city and accomplished lavish benefactions.

* This paper is based on the results of a larger study published in Heller 2020. All the examples commented here can be found in the online database associated with this publication: https://www.euergetai.univ-tours.fr (accessed on March 24th, 2025).

[1] *I.Perge* I, 86, 89–99, with the introductory comments on p. 107–119. On Plancia Magna, see also Boatwright 1991; van Bremen 1996, 104–107.

In an oval courtyard inside the gate, nine more statue bases were found: seven with the names of heroes linked to the city's legendary past (such as Kalchas from Argos or Labos from Delphi) and two with the names of Plancia Magna's father and brother, M. Plancius Varus and C. Plancius Varus.[2] All names were engraved in the nominative case and preceded by the word *ktistēs*, isolated on the first line. The parallel between the mythological founders of the city and contemporary members of a prominent local family was made even clearer by the layout of the statues within the courtyard: the heroes were most probably housed in seven niches on one side of the courtyard and the relatives of Plancia Magna in seven similar niches on the opposite wall. There thus lacks five statues of contemporaries, and it is tempting to follow Sencer Şahin's suggestion that next to Plancia Magna's brother and father stood her husband, her son, the two sons of her brother, and probably herself. Ancient and new founders mirrored each other in this sophisticated staging of both civic and family prestige.

Such a visually striking parallel is rare if not unique, but the metaphorical and honorific use of the word *ktistēs* is well attested during the Imperial period. Engraved next to the name of local citizens, Roman governors or emperors, it acquired the value of an official title awarded by the civic authorities to express their gratitude and to honour important benefactors. Building on the results of an overall study on honorific titles in Roman Asia Minor, this paper aims at defining the scope of the use of the title *ktistēs* and the reasons why it was granted.

After a brief comment on the first epigraphic instances of this title, I will present the corpus collected for my general study on titles, the distribution of the title *ktistēs* in space and time and according to the status of the honorands, and the profile of the individuals thus honoured (their attested benefactions and offices).

The genesis of the title

A few literary sources from the Classical and Hellenistic periods already refer to the figure of the founder (*oikistēs*, *ktistēs* or *archēgetēs*) in an honorific context. According to Thucydides, after the battle between Athens and Sparta at Amphipolis in 422 BC, the general Brasidas, who died in battle, was granted a public funeral and buried inside the city at the entrance of the agora; he received honours as a hero (games and sacrifices) and was considered as the founder (*oikistēs*) of the colony, while the memory of the recent historical founder, the Athenian Hagnōn, was obliterated and the buildings erected in his honour destroyed.[3] The Amphipolitans, being at war with their metropolis Athens, considered that Brasidas was "their saviour" (*sōtēra*) and honoured him as their new founder. Half a century later, in 365 BC, Euphron of Sicyon was likewise buried in the agora by his fellow citizens, who "worship him as a founder of the city" (ὡς ἀρχηγέτην τῆς πόλεως σέβονται).[4] Despite the controversial nature of Euphron's political career (his

[2] *I.Perge* I, 101–109.

[3] Thuc. 5.11; cf. Leschhorn 1984, 163–164.

[4] Xen. *Hell*. 7.3.12; cf. Leschhorn 1984, 175–180.

enemies considered him as a tyrant and a traitor), the great honours he received probably rewarded his role in establishing a democratic regime at Sicyon after the Spartan hegemony was overthrown. In the early Hellenistic period, Sicyon again honoured as founders (*ktistai*) those who delivered the city from an external danger or restored the democracy.[5] These actions were implicitly assimilated to a new foundation and justified the implementation of cultic honours originally reserved for the mythological or historical founder of the community.

The first epigraphic attestations of the word *ktistēs* in an honorific context are much later and date to the first century BC.[6] At Pergamon in the years 60 BC, one of the decrees in honour of Diodoros Pasparos states that while he was a gymnasiarch he restored the gymnasium which was totally destroyed and "became like a second founder" (γενόμενος καθάπερ εἴ τις δεύτερος κτίστης).[7] About twenty years later in the same city, Mithridates son of Menodotos was honoured as "a new founder of the fatherland after Pergamos and Philetairos" ([γενόμενον τῆς πατ]ρίδος μ[ε]τ[ὰ Π]έργαμο[ν καὶ Φ]ιλέταιρον νέον κτ[ίστην]) for having restored the city and its territory to the ancestral gods—a formula which other sources allow us to understand as a reference to the status of free city, lost during the Mithridatic wars and regained thanks to Mithridates' connections with Julius Caesar.[8] Similarly, Theophanes of Mytilene, who was a close adviser of Pompey and played an important role in securing the grant of freedom to his city, was honoured after his death as "a second founder of the fatherland" (κτίστα δευτέρω τᾶς πάτριδος).[9] In all these instances, the comparison with the mythological and/or historical founder is explicit and underpins the prestige of the honorific use of the word *ktistēs*. In two of these cases, the new founders also received cultic honours (Diodoros while still living, Theophanes after his death).

From this perspective, the Augustan period represents a turning point, nicely illustrated by an inscription from Kyme dated between 2 BC and 14 AD.[10] This decree honours a certain L. Vaccius Labeo, a Roman citizen of Italian origin who was gymnasiarch, restored the gymnasium and built a bath for the *neoi*. He was offered a series of extraordinary honours, and accepted gilt statues, as well as a public funeral and burial in the gymnasium after his death, but refused both the honour of a temple (*naos*) and that of being named *ktistēs* as "excessive and suited only to gods and god-like men" (ὑπερβαρέα καὶ θεοῖσι καὶ τοῖς ἰσσοθέοισι ἁρμόζοισαν). Indeed the imperial cult had by then begun to spread in the Greek world, and divine honours were soon to be reserved for the emperor and members of the imperial family. The citizens of Kyme were not fully aware of this change, whereas Labeo, may be thanks to his Italian connections, realised that it was not

[5] Demetrios Poliorketes in 303 BC: Diod. Sic. 20.102; Aratos of Sicyon in 213 BC: Plut. *Vit. Arat*. 53. See Heller 2020, 25.

[6] For a detailed analysis of these first instances, see Heller 2020, 28–33.

[7] *IGR* IV, 293, col. II, *ll*. 62–65. I tend to give a strong meaning to *ktistēs* in this passage (founder of the community) and not the weak sense of "founder of the gymnasium." On the chronology of the decrees in honour of Diodoros Pasparos, see Chankowski 1998.

[8] Hepding 1909, 329–340.

[9] *IG* XII.2, 150 and 163. Cf. Robert 1969; Pawlak 2020. On the divinisation of Theophanes, see Caneva 2023, 169–175.

[10] *I.Kyme* 19. See Kuhn 2017 and Heller 2020, 34–37.

wise to accept such honours, especially since Augustus himself ostensibly showed caution and modesty when offered to be honoured as a god.

In this instance as in the previous ones, the title *ktistēs* went along with the establishment of a cult. However, in the Imperial period it was no longer the case: there are many *ktistai* and apart from the emperors, none of them received cultic honours. The word as a title seems to have undergone a process of secularisation: it no longer implied heroic or divine status per se.

The distribution of the title

The corpus I have gathered for my study on honorific titles results from the systematic survey of a selection of epigraphic corpora from Asia Minor. The total number of inscriptions examined was around 29 000, and within this number I have found 1763 instances of individuals with titles, which I recorded in a database.[11] A great variety of words could be used as titles, attached to the name of the honorand and thus officially defining their qualities. The three most common ones were "benefactor" (*euergetēs*), "lover of the emperor" (*philosebastos*) and "lover of the fatherland" (*philopatris*). With 154 occurrences, the title *ktistēs* is the fifth most frequent title in my database, but it only represents 6% of all occurrences of titles, because of the wide range of laudatory epithets which could also be used in a similar context (*eusebēs*, *philotimos*, *philodoxos*, *agathos*, etc.). In contrast, we should underline the small number of occurrences of *oikistēs* as an honorific title: only 30 cases, most of them concentrating at Miletus and concerning the emperor Hadrian (see infra).[12]

In search of the specific title *ktistēs*, I have made an additional keyword search on the website of the *Packard Humanities Institute* (*PHI*), which added around one hundred new occurrences, the total thus amouting to 253.[13] When analysing the characteristics of the title *ktistēs* in itself, I will use this wider sample. But when comparing its characteristics to the ones of other titles, it is necessary to use the smaller sample resulting from the systematic survey of corpora, in order to avoid the bias involved by the keyword search.

Especially to evaluate the geographical distribution of the title *ktistēs*, the number of occurrences per region should not be considered in itself, but in relation with the total number of titles systematically recorded in each region (tabl. 1).[14]

[11] A simplified version of this database is available online: https://www.euergetai.univ-tours.fr. It contains all the occurrences of individuals attested with titles, but also of institutions defined by the same words (such as the *philosebastos* council), stemming from the systematic survey of epigraphic corpora, but also from a keyword search on *PHI*. To obtain the results for individuals only and from the systematic survey only, one has to exclude the category "institutions" in the second column and the category "hors corpus" in the last one.

[12] For a detailed presentation of the relative frequency of titles within the corpus, see Heller 2020, 159–166.

[13] Here the count is in occurrences of individuals attested with the title *ktistēs*, not in occurrences of the title itself (as in some rare cases, an individual can be defined as *ktistēs* twice in the same inscription). The few cases where the term was clearly used in a private context, to designate the founder of a tomb or an offering (e.g. *IGR* III, 275), have been labelled as "private titles" in the database and excluded from this count.

[14] A complete table per region, recording each title with the number and percentage of occurrences, can be downloaded on the website: https://www.euergetai.univ-tours.fr/ressources (under the button "Palmarès des titres par region").

Table 1. The geographical distribution of the title *ktistēs*

Title	Bithynia	Caria	Cilicia	Aiolis	Galatia	Ionia	Lycia	Lydia	Mysia	Pamphylia	Phrygia	Pisidia	Total
ktistes (nb occ)	3	14	6	3	15	26	8	12	22	19	11	15	154
all titles (nb occ)	119	529	144	10	129	774	247	143	94	136	80	165	2636
% of all titles	**3%**	**3%**	**4%**	**30%**	**12%**	**3%**	**3%**	**8%**	**23%**	**14%**	**14%**	**9%**	**6%**

NB : the percentage for Aiolis is not reliable as the total number of occurrences is too small.

A strong contrast can be observed between regions where *ktistēs* only represents a small proportion of all occurrences of titles and is therefore a relatively rare choice (in Bithynia, Caria, Cilicia, Lycia) and regions where its use is much more frequent. In Mysia (that is mostly in Pergamon), when individuals are defined by honorific epithets attached to their name, the word *ktistēs* appears in almost a quarter of the cases, which makes it the third best attested title in this region, after *euergetēs* ("benefactor") and *sōtēr* ("saviour"). In Galatia, Pamphylia, and Phrygia, it is also more frequently used than the average, albeit less intensively than in Mysia (12% or 14% of all occurrences). Ionia is a special case. When taking into account the sole word *ktistēs*, the sample, although the largest of the corpus in absolute numbers, only amounts to 3% of all occurrences of titles in this region. But if we add the 27 instances of *oikistēs* also attested in Ionia, then the reference to the founder figure appears much more widespread, amounting to 7% of the total and ranking fourth in the list of regional titles after *philosebastos*, *euergetēs*, and *eusebēs* ("pious"). Elsewhere, the word *oikistēs* used in an honorific context is either totally absent or very rare (one or two instances).

These observations are based on a count of the occurrences of titles. However, the same individual can be designated as *ktistēs* in several or even numerous inscriptions. A study of the distribution of the title according to the status of the individuals should include this variant. We can thus compare the relative weight of each category when taking into account all occurrences of individuals (tabl. 2a) and when removing multiple occurrences of the same individuals (tabl. 2b). Contrary to some titles who were reserved for specific categories (for instance, during the Imperial period, "saviour" was almost never used to honour local benefactors, but only Roman emperors or governors, while only citizens could be defined as *philosebastoi* or *philopatrides*),[15] the title *ktistēs* could be awarded to all categories, albeit not in the same proportions.

[15] See Heller 2020, 215–221.

Table 2a. The categories of individuals attested with the title *ktistēs* (all occurrences)

Category	Occurrence	%
Roman citizen	96	**38%**
citizen	33	**13%**
emperor	80	**32%**
Roman magistrate	22	**9%**
lacuna	9	**4%**
other	13	**5%**
total	**253**	**100%**

Table 2b. The categories of individuals attested with the title *ktistēs* (without multiple occurrences)

Category	Individual	%
Roman citizen	66	**45%**
citizen	29	**20%**
emperor	12	**8%**
Roman magistrate	17	**12%**
lacuna	9	**6%**
other	13	**9%**
total	**146**	**100%**

Local citizens, a majority of which also possessed Roman citizenship (a probable sign of their belonging to the upper echelons of civic societies), represent around half of the cases when counting in occurrences, but almost two thirds when counting in individuals. Most of the "founders" originated from the city which recognised them as such. The proportion of Roman magistrates (legates, proconsuls or procurators) does not vary significantly according to the counting method, amounting to a little less or a little more than 10% of cases. They were often (but not always) honoured by cities which belonged to the province where they were appointed. For instance, the people of Tlos erected a statue of P. Baebius Italicus. The inscription on the base, recalling his career in the imperial army and administration, ends with the mention of his office as *legatus Augusti pro praetore* in Lycia and Pamphylia under Domitian. He is then defined as "the benefactor and founder and upright governor" (τῷ [εὐεργ]έτῃ καὶ κτίστῃ καὶ [δικαιο]δότῃ ἀγνῷ).[16] Did he favour Tlos in some specific way or was he just praised for his general attitude

[16] *TAM* II, 563. See *PIR*^{2} B 17.

as a good governor, immune to corruption and just in his judgments?[17] Whatever the answer, it is certainly Baebius' actions during his term of office in Lycia which earned him these laudatory epithets.

Emperors are a special category of honorands: in the corpus combining the results from the systematic survey and from the keyword search, they represent almost one third of all occurrences of individuals attested as *ktistai*, but only 8% once removed multiple occurrences of the same individual. For instance, Augustus and Antoninus are each honoured as "founders" in five or six different honorific inscriptions (from different cities). However, the emperor who concentrates by far the largest number of occurrences is Hadrian: he is attested 58 times with the title *ktistēs*. The reasons for this exceptionally wide use of the title will be discussed in the next section. First, I would like to underline its impact on the chronological distribution of the title: it creates a huge peak of attestations in the second quarter of the second century AD (as Hadrian was mostly hailed as "founder" after 128 AD, when he received the divine epithet *Olympios*). If we remove multiple occurrences, then the distribution appears quite similar to that of honorific titles in general: after a more or less regular increase in the number of attestations during the first century AD, a first peak can be observed in the first half of the second century AD, followed by a second, less pronounced peak at the beginning of the third century. These fluctuations are mainly in line with the state of the epigraphic documentation: they reflect the intensity of the epigraphic habit itself rather than the intensity of the use of titles.[18]

The reasons for the award of the title

The sources are rarely explicit on the reasons why an individual was called "founder" and we are often left with hypotheses based on what we know in addition about the honorand. The case of Hadrian, widely discussed in scholarship, illustrates these uncertainties. Anna Benjamin first gathered the attestations of small altars dedicated to the "saviour and founder emperor Hadrian *Olympios*" (σωτῆρι καὶ κτίστηι Αὐτοκράτορι Ἀδριανῶι Ὀλυμπίωι).[19] This dedicatory formula was abundantly used at Athens, but also appears, with some variants and in varied proportions, all over the Greek world. Miletus is the only city to replace *ktistēs* by *oikistēs* on these altars. The latter term is older than the former, and I have argued that this could be an archaising choice underlying the antiquity of the city, of which Miletus boasted in the context of the Panhellenion and the competition for prestige in the province of Asia.[20] However, the old opinion that the title "founder" should be understood as "founder of the Panhellenion" does not stand up to scrutiny. First, the dedicatory formula was used by cities which were not members of the league. Second, it has been argued convincingly that the word *ktistēs*, when used to honour an emperor, did not take the weak sense of "founder of a specific building" or "builder": it rather had

[17] For this meaning of *hagnos*, see Heller – Suspène 2019.

[18] For the chronological profile of honorific titles in general, see Heller 2020, 124–138. On the methodological issues raised by the chronology of the epigraphic habit, see Heller 2024, 193–199.

[19] Benjamin 1963.

[20] Heller 2022, 60–68.

a strong political meaning and rewarded either important benefactions regarding the rights and privileges of a city or an overall benevolent attitude towards the Greeks.[21] These two sets of reasons probably combined for Hadrian and explain the exceptionally widespread use of the titles "saviour" and "founder" in connection with this emperor, both on the small altars already mentioned and on honorific statue bases.

More generally, the link between a building activity and the title *ktistēs* should be questioned. It is true that some of the *ktistai* were praised for having financed important construction work. Already Diodoros Pasparos at Pergamon and Labeo at Kyme had restored the gymnasium.[22] The case of Plancia Magna is more ambiguous.[23] She is clearly the main responsible for the monumental complex where the statues of her close relatives were erected and defined as statues of "founders." Did her father and brother also contribute to this expensive project? Did they secure some other privileges to the city, thanks to their Roman connections? Or were they simply called *ktistai* and compared to mythological heroes in order to enhance the prestige of this very high-ranking family? More importantly, if Plancia Magna also had a statue of herself erected in one of the niches in the courtyard, was she designated as a "foundress"? The remaining inscriptions in her honour give her the titles "daughter of the city," *eusebēs*, and *philopatris*, but not *ktistria*.[24] This feminine form of *ktistēs* is nonetheless attested elsewhere, albeit very rarely. I have found only 6 instances, all coming from Pamphylia and Pisidia.

One of these foundresses is honoured at Termessos under the Severan dynasty. The statues of a couple have been erected by two different tribes of the city: one for "the priest of Apollo for life, Marcus Aurelius Meidianos Platonianus Platon, *ktistēs* and gymnasiarch in perpetuity, […] leader of the tribe and *philopatris*," the other for "Aurelia Artemeis daughter of Thoas Hermaios, mother of the council, *ktistria* and gymnasiarch in perpetuity, wife of the priest of Apollo for life Marcus Aurelius Meidianus Platonianus Platon, *ktistēs* and gymnasiarch."[25] The symmetry within the couple is almost perfect, except that Artemeis is (quite traditionally) defined as the wife of Platon, whose titles are recalled in the inscription in her honour, while the reverse is not true. Another pair of statue bases, erected this time by a freedman honouring his former masters, gives another, more developed version of the title.[26] Platon is here called "the founder of the gymnasium (τὸν κτίστην τοῦ γυμνασίου), gymnasiarch in perpetuity, son of the city and *philopatris*, also founder of other buildings (κτίστην καὶ ἑτέρων ἔργων) with his wife Aurelia Artemeis daughter of Thoas Hermaios, mother of the council, most honourable (τῆς κρατίστης)." Again a strict symmetry between husband and wife is respected, as on her own statue base Artemeis is called "the most honourable mother of the council, *philopatris* and gymnasiarch in perpetuity, she too foundress of the gymnasium and of other buildings (κτίστριαν καὶ αὐτὴν τοῦ γυμνασίου καὶ ἑτέρων ἔργων) with her husband Meidianos Platon."[27] This

[21] Pont 2007.

[22] Cf. supra the section on the genesis of the title.

[23] Cf. supra the introduction.

[24] *I.Perge* I, 117–125. See Heller 2020, 113–115.

[25] *TAM* III.1, 121 and 57.

[26] *TAM* III.1, 122 and 58.

[27] On the titles "son of the city" and "mother of the council," see Heller 2020, 165–166, 200–202, 230–231, 234–235.

second version makes it explicit that the foundation consisted in financing the renovation and/or construction of buildings that are central to civic identity, first and foremost the gymnasium. However, the first version, used by civic subgroups, only uses the words *ktistēs* and *ktistria*, without any specification, which strongly suggests a parallel with the mythological or historical founders of a community.

This connotation of the title *ktistēs* indeed seems to be the most widespread. When analysing the different variants of the title in my sample, it appears that the formula "founder of a specific building" or "founder of buildings" is only attested in 5% of cases (tabl. 3).

Table 3. The variants of the title *ktistēs*

Variant	**Bithynia**	**Cappadocia**	**Caria**	**Cilicia**	**Aiolis**	**Galatia**	**Ionia**	**Lycaonia**	**Lycia**	**Lydia**	**Mysia**	**Pamphylia**	**Phrygia**	**Pisidia**	**Pontus**	**Total**	**%**
ktistes	1	1	7	6	4	3	21	2	7	8	38	20	13	28	7	166	**66%**
ktistes of the city	2		3	2		12	7		1	2	2	1	10	6	1	49	**19%**
ktistes of the fatherland		1	3	1			4			2	4	1	1			17	**7%**
ktistes of buildings			1				1		1		4		2	3	1	13	**5%**
ktistes of the world				2					1							3	**1%**
ktistes of the people									1	1						2	**1%**
combination			1							1	1					3	**1%**
total	**3**	**2**	**15**	**11**	**4**	**15**	**33**	**2**	**11**	**14**	**49**	**22**	**26**	**37**	**9**	**253**	**100%**

The simple title *ktistēs*, without any further indication, is the most frequent (in two thirds of the cases), followed by the variants "founder of the city" or "founder of the fatherland," which also point to an implicit comparison with the original founder of the community. The title "founder of the world" (*tou kosmou* / *tēs oikoumenēs*) is only attested for emperors (Augustus, Claudius, Hadrian) and is very rare (in contrast with the titles "benefactor of the world" or "saviour of the world," which are more frequent).[28]

In the examples I have highlighted, the information contained in the inscription where the title *ktistēs* appears can help us deduce the reasons for its award: the new founders have either secured important legal privileges to the city (as did Mithridates of Pergamon) or have financed great building projects or renovations (as the couple from Termessos). The gymnasium also occurred several times as the focus of a founder's activity. However, if we try to confirm these patterns by a quantitative analysis, we face the limits of our documentation. It proves quite difficult to establish a link between the title *ktistēs* and both the offices held and the benefactions accomplished by the individuals honoured as *ktistai*. In

[28] See Heller 2022, 74–76.

some cases, their whole career is recalled, as in an inscription from Aphrodisias engraved by the *neoi* in honour of Adrastos son of Neikotimos Hierax at the end of the first century AD.[29] The honorand is praised as "son of the *neoi*, a great man who loves his fatherland and his city, both a benefactor and a founder of the people through the tradition of his ancestors (υἱὸν νέων ἄνδρα μέγαν φιλόπατριν καὶ φιλοπολείτην καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ κτίστην γεγονότα διὰ προγόνων τοῦ δήμου), who has been high priest of the emperors, gymnasiarch twice, providing a continuous and abundant flow of olive oil, *stephanephoros* twice, *agōnothetēs* three times, *agoranomos* four times, a founder (κτίστην), who acted as ambassador for his fatherland on many occasions, was an advocate of public affairs, and gave costly feasts and contributions from his own funds." It is problematic, in such a text, to determine which actions led to the award of which titles. The repetition of the title *ktistēs* before the mention of the embassies and judicial cases in which Adrastos pleaded for his city could suggest that these were the motives which earned him the honour to be called a founder in his own right, and not only a founder "through the tradition of his ancestors." This assumption, however, cannot be verified: it is also possible that the series of titles chosen for him rewarded his career as a whole. In such cases, I have associated each title with all the elements of the career of the honorand—thus counting each element (office or benefaction) several times.[30] The results from the systematic survey first allow us to compare the offices associated with the title *ktistēs* and those associated with all titles (tabl. 4a and 4b).

Table 4a. The offices associated with the title *ktistēs*

Rank	Office	Occurrence	%
1	high priest	25	**14%**
2	agonothete	18	**10%**
3	procurator	14	**8%**
4	priest	10	**6%**
5	galatarch	9	**5%**
6	gymnasiarch	9	**5%**
7	ambassador	8	**4%**
8	politarch	8	**4%**
9	archon	7	**4%**
10	sebastophant	7	**4%**
…	…	…	**…**
	total	**182**	**100%**

[29] *I.Aphrodisias2007* 12.308.

[30] For a detailed analysis of the offices and benefactions associated with titles, see Heller 2020, 242–258.

Table 4b. The offices associated with all titles

Rank	Office	Occurrence	%
1	high priest	223	**10%**
2	priest	189	**8%**
3	agonothete	139	**6%**
4	grammateus	122	**5%**
5	gymnasiarch	119	**5%**
6	agoranomos	101	**4%**
7	ambassador	66	**3%**
8	all offices and liturgies	63	**3%**
9	procurator	60	**3%**
10	archon	57	**2%**
…	…	…	**…**
	total	**2322**	**100%**

In more than half of the cases, the inscription where an individual is called *ktistēs* does not mention any office. When it does, the civic offices most often mentioned are those of high priest of the imperial cult, agonothete (president of a contest) and priest. But these are also the three top offices for individuals attested with titles in general, so it is not a specificity of the *ktistai*. The office of gymnasiarch, which was fulfilled by Diodoros Pasparos at Pergamon, L. Vaccius Labeo at Kyme and Meidianos Platonianus Platon at Termessos, ranks only sixth among offices held by *ktistai*, while it is the fifth most frequent office for title holders in general: "founders" are a little less often attested as gymnasiarchs than the average. The only significant difference in the ranking of offices for *ktistai* is the higher position of the office of procurator, held in the imperial administration. It testifies to the fact that the title "founder" was more often awarded to representatives of the Roman power than other titles, which were reserved for local citizens. These are the results from the systematic survey of corpora. If we add the additional instances of the keyword search, the overall picture does not change: the first four offices in the list for *ktistai* are still high priest, agonothete, procurator and priest, in this order. The office of legate gains prominence and ranks fifth, but this is partly due to the career of one individual, who is honoured twice with the reminder of his four terms as legate.[31] The office of gymnasiarch drops from the sixth to the seventh position in the list: it is definitely not a distinctive office for *ktistai*. The interpretation of the benefactions accomplished by founders is even more difficult, as they are explicitly recorded in only 22% of cases. The differences observed with the general population of title holders are slim. Building activity is the most popular benefaction offered by *ktistai* as well as by all individuals honoured with titles. It

[31] *IMT Kaïkos*, 832 and *IGR* IV, 275 in honour of C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus from Pergamon (see *PIR*^{2} I 507). His four terms as legate in four different provinces provide 8 occurrences of this office out of a total of 15.

is slightly over-represented among founders, as it represents 36% of their recorded benefactions as compared to 23% for all title holders, but the small number of cases does not make this a firm result. Similarly, benefactions concerning the gymnasium (repairs and restoration, foundation to ensure regular revenues for the gymnasiarchy, or providing of oil) could be a little more frequent among *ktistai* than the average, but the 15 cases recorded (out of 69 benefactions) do not allow for certainty.

Despite these limitations, it seems beyond doubt that the title *ktistēs* was a very prestigious appellation, which was not randomly awarded but honoured individuals who were of great service to the community and therefore gained the right to be explicitly or implicitly compared to the original founders of the city. As other papers from this conference showed, the memory of these original *ktistai* was kept alive in Imperial times through a diversity of media (monumental graves, statues, coinage, mythography), which made the honour of being called *ktistēs* all the more significant. It was one of the many ways in which Greeks living under the Roman Empire built bridges between the present and the past.

Abbreviations

I.Aphrodisias2007 – J. Reynolds, Ch. Roueché, G. Bodard, *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias*, 2007 [https://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004].
I.Kyme – H. Engelmann, *Die Inschriften von Kyme*, Bonn, 1976.
I.Perge – S. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Perge*, 2 vols, Bonn, 1999–2004.
IG – *Inscriptiones graecae*, Berlin, 1873–.
IGR – R. Cagnat *et al*., *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*, 12 vols, Paris, 1901–1927.
IMT Kaïkos – M. Barth and J. Stauber, *Inschriften Mysia und Troas*, Leopold Wenger Institut, Universität München. Version of 25.8.1993 (Ibycus).
PIR^2 – *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (editio altera), Berlin, 1933–.
TAM – *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, Wien, 1901–.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 295–301
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.020.21410
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Soter kai ktistes du Péloponnèse : Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes

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Abstract
***Soter kai ktistes* of Peloponnese: Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes**

At the beginning of the 2nd century AD, the city of Gytheion honored an Athenian citizen with the honorary titles of *soter kai ktistes*. The honored person was Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, the father of the famous sophist and millionaire. The article is an attempt to find an answer to the question of what Atticus did to deserve such an honor and what this title could have meant to him.

Keywords: *soter kai ktistes*, Roman Greece, Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, Gytheion.

Sous le règne d'Hadrien, les habitants de la ville portuaire de Gytheion décidèrent d'honorer le citoyen d'Athènes, Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, avec une statue érigée près des Propylées. Ils informèrent les Athéniens de leur décision par l'intermédiaire d'envoyés. L'inscription sur la base de la statue a survécu :

ἡ πόλις ἡ Γυθεατῶν
Κλαύδιον Ἀττικὸν
τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σε-
βαστῶν καὶ κηδεμό-
να τοῦ ἔθνους, ἑαυτῆς
δὲ σωτῆρα καὶ κτίστην,
διὰ πρέσβεων Σωκρατίδα
τοῦ Δαμίππου · Ἀτειλίου
τοῦ Δαμονικίδα · Κάρπου
τοῦ Κάρπου · Δαμονικίδα
τοῦ Ἀγαθοκλέους · Ἑρμο-
[κ]ράτους τοῦ Νεοπόλιδος.
vac. 0.11

ἐπὶ ἱερείας τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς
Ἀθηνίου.[1]

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Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, honoré par les habitants de Gytheion, était un représentant d'une famille athénienne influente et riche. Ses membres ont joué un rôle important dans la ville au moins à partir des années 60 du 1er siècle avant J.-C. Les fonctions d'archonte éponyme, de stratège des hoplites ou de héraut de l'Aréopage exercées par les représentants de la famille indiquent qu'ils faisaient partie d'un cercle d'élite étroit de plusieurs familles qui monopolisaient en fait le pouvoir dans la ville.[2] La famille a survécu à la période turbulente du déclin de la république, mais a apparemment également maintenu sa situation financière, comme en témoigne sa participation à l'établissement du culte impérial à Athènes.[3] Nous n'avons aucune information sur les sources de la richesse et des revenus de la famille. On ne peut que supposer que la base de sa prospérité était la propriété foncière et les activités bancaires. Au cours des premières décennies de l'existence de l'empire, la famille a constamment renforcé sa position parmi l'élite athénienne et augmenté sa richesse. Sous le règne de Néron, le premier représentant de la famille, Tiberius Claudius Hipparchus, reçut la citoyenneté romaine.[4] Cependant, peu de temps après, un désastre se produisit et la famille non seulement perdit une partie de ses biens, mais dut également quitter Athènes pour un certain temps.

Tiberius Claudius Hipparchus était un homme dont la richesse était légendaire.[5] Cependant, il entra en conflit avec les Athéniens, qui l'accusèrent, probablement sous le règne de Domitien, de tendances tyranniques. En conséquence, selon Philotratus, Domitien a ordonné la confiscation de ses biens.[6] On sait que la confiscation des biens était généralement accompagnée de la peine de mort ou de l'exil. On peut donc soupçonner qu'Hipparque a perdu non seulement ses biens mais aussi sa vie, car après le cas décrit par Philostratus il disparaît des sources. Sa famille dut quitter Athènes et se réfugia quelque temps à Sparte. La famille a établi des liens avec cette ville du vivant d'Hipparchus.[7]

Hipparque eut trois enfants, deux filles et un fils, Tiberius Claudius Atticus, ci-après appelé Atticus. Il est probablement né dans les années 70 du 1er siècle après J.-C., à une époque où son père jouissait encore de la gloire et de la fortune. Après sa mort, la famille, comme mentionné ci-dessus, trouva refuge à Sparte, où Atticus reçut une formation d'éphèbe. Autoriser les étrangers à entrer dans l'éphébie était rare à Sparte et nécessitait très probablement une autorisation spéciale des autorités. Quoi qu'il en soit, Atticus a pleinement profité des opportunités que lui offrait son séjour à Sparte. Il se lia d'amitié

[1] *IG* II² 3596; Ameling 1983, 81–81, nº 53.

[2] Habicht 1997, 321–328; Grijalvo 2005, 255–282.

[3] Kantiréa 2007, 62–63, 173–174.

[4] Byrne 2003, 107–109; Schmaltz 2009, 266–269.

[5] Suet., *Vesp*. 13

[6] Philostr., *VS* 2.547; Graindor 1930, 13–17; Papalas 1975, 49–59; Ameling 1983, vol. 2, 15–20; Tobin 1997, 14–17.

[7] *IG V* 1.516; Spawforth 1980, 205–206.

avec de jeunes représentants de l'élite spartiate et devint plus tard une figure importante de la vie de cette ville.[8] Il avait très probablement la citoyenneté de Sparte et ce, dans les années 30 du IIe siècle après J.-C. il y occupa la fonction de patronome.[9]

Très probablement seulement après la mort de Domitien en 96 Atticus et sa famille purent retourner à Athènes. C'est alors qu'il découvre un trésor dans l'une de ses maisons. Bien que Philostrate, qui a décrit cette histoire de manière très colorée, ait mentionné que la découverte était accidentelle, il est beaucoup plus probable de supposer qu'Atticus a trouvé ce qu'Hipparcus a réussi à cacher avant que la confiscation ordonnée par Domitien n'ait lieu. Il ne pouvait pas cacher ses propriétés foncières, mais il pouvait cacher son argent et ses objets de valeur. Selon Philostrate, immédiatement après avoir fait la « découverte », Atticus a commencé à demander à l'empereur Nerva de légaliser le trésor trouvé. Ses efforts ont été couronnés de succès.[10]

Sous le règne de Nerva, Atticus redevint un homme riche et augmenta bientôt sa fortune en épousant une femme nommée Vibullia Alkia. Elle venait de la famille influente Vibulii de Marathon. Ils étaient les descendants de vétérans romains qui, dans la seconde moitié du Ier siècle av. J.C. ils participèrent à la fondation de la colonie romaine de Corinthe.[11]

Épouser un représentant d'une famille influente devait être l'un des éléments d'un projet plus large visant à retrouver sa place au sommet de l'échelle sociale athénienne. Atticus a procédé avec prudence mais cohérence, et en conséquence, il est non seulement redevenu partie de l'élite athénienne, mais puis de l'élite régionale, et enfin de l'élite impériale en tant que sénateur et consul romain.[12] L'argent jouait un rôle important, peut-être même le plus important, dans ses actions, grâce auquel il pouvait agir comme un évergète généreux, comme le décrit en détail Philostrate.[13]

Les activités d'Atticus en tant qu'évergète consistaient principalement à couvrir les frais des sacrifices consentis lors des fêtes religieuses. A cette occasion, les habitants étaient invités à des banquets publics, ce qui le rendit populaire. Grâce aux inscriptions, nous connaissons également d'autres exemples de l'activité évergétique d'Atticus. En tant que trésorier des prytanes de la tribu Aiantis, il finança les sacrifices que devaient consentir les prytanes pour la prospérité de la ville. En outre, il a créé une fondation dont les revenus devaient être utilisés à l'avenir pour couvrir les coûts de la prytanie de cette tribu. On peut soupçonner qu'il a également créé des fondations similaires pour d'autres tribus, c'est pourquoi plusieurs de ses statues ont été érigées dans différentes parties de la ville.[14] Son épouse participait également à ses activités évergétiques.[15] Les Athéniens ont remboursé ces bienfaits non seulement en lui dédiant des statues, mais aussi en décernant au bienfaiteur une couronne d'or et une place d'honneur dans le théâtre de Dionysos. Ce dernier honneur revient également à son épouse.[16]

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[8] Ameling 1983, vol. 2, 66, nº 33; Cartledge – Spawforth 1989, 167–168.

[9] Rizakis *et al*. 2004, 170–174 (*LAC 270); Heller 2012, 127–151.

[10] Philostr., *VS* 2.548; Graindor 1931, 21–24.

[11] Byrne 2003, 479–480; Ameling 1983, 24–25.

[12] Carrière d'Atticus: Rizakis *et al.* 2004, 170–174 (*LAC 270).

[13] Philostr., *VS* 2.549.

[14] Ameling 1983, vol. 2, 85–89, nº 56–59; *IG* II² 3597 a–e.

[15] Ameling 1983, vol. 2, 90, nº 60.

[16] Ameling 1983, vol. 2, 91, nº 62–63.

Atticus mena ses activités évergétiques non seulement à Athènes, mais aussi dans plusieurs autres villes de Grèce. Habituellement, nous pouvons dire peu de choses sur ses actions, car nous ne connaissons que leurs effets, c'est-à-dire les statues d'Atticus érigées par les membres reconnaissants de diverses communautés. On sait cependant que vers l'an 100 il devint agonothet des Jeux Isthmiques, c'est-à-dire qu'il prit en charge les frais de leur organisation.[17] La liste des villes qui bénéficièrent de la générosité d'Atticus comprenait également Mégare, Platées et Eleusis. Le conseil et les démos de Mégare l'ont honoré comme évergète.[18] Nous ne savons pas quelle était la raison pour laquelle Atticus a été honoré, mais compte tenu de toutes ses activités évergétiques que nous connaissons, nous pouvons soupçonner qu'il s'agissait d'un soutien financier. Nous ne savons pas non plus quelle était la raison pour laquelle Atticus était honoré à Platées et à Eleusis.[19]

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La ville de Gytheion, située dans le sud de la Laconie, figurait également sur la liste des villes bénéficiant de la charité d'Atticus. Comme mentionné ci-dessus, la ville a décidé d'honorer son évergète avec une statue érigée à Athènes. Malheureusement, nous ne savons pas comment Atticus a aidé Gytheion. Paul Graindor était d'avis que ce devait être une sorte de don qui a aidé la ville à sortir de ses problèmes financiers.[20] La possibilité qu'Atticus ait établi une fondation dans cette ville a été admise par J. H. Olivier.[21] Walter Ameling a conclu qu'Atticus avait établi la fondation à des fins culturelles.[22] La création d'une fondation semble très probable, d'autant plus qu'il en créa une similaire à Athènes.[23] S'il s'agissait bien d'une fondation dont la ville devait tirer des revenus, cela devait être important, car nous savons que la ville n'avait ni la volonté ni la capacité d'en assumer la responsabilité. C'est pourquoi elle envoya une ambassade à Rome pour demander la protection impériale sur la fondation. Ces efforts ont été couronnés de succès.[24]

La ville de Gytheion s'est tournée vers l'empereur Hadrien avec une demande de protection, mais cela ne signifie pas nécessairement que la fondation a été créée sous le règne de cet empereur, elle aurait tout aussi bien pu être créée plus tôt. Dans l'inscription citée ci-dessus, Atticus apparaît comme le grand prêtre du culte impérial, ce qui ne facilite cependant pas la datation, puisqu'il occupa très probablement cette fonction dans les années 100–137 ap. J.-C.[25] De plus, le titre *kèdemôn*, faisant très probablement référence au *koinon* des *Éleuthérolaconiens*, ne permet pas de dater précisément l'inscription.

[17] Ameling 1983, vol. 2, 67–68, nº 36.

[18] *IG* VII 88.

[19] Platées : *IG* VII 2509; Thèbes: Ameling 1983, vol. 2, 90–91, nº 61; Eleusis: *IG* II² 3598; Ameling 1983, vol. 2, 91, nº 64.

[20] Graindor 1930, 34–35 : '*donation faite par Atticus à la cité de Gytheion*'.

[21] Oliver 1953, 965.

[22] Ameling 1983, vol. 1, 29–30: '*die Stadt mit einer großen Summe zur Förderung kultureller Belange badacht hat*'.

[23] Philostr. 2.1.5.

[24] *IG* V 1.1147; Ameling 1983, vol. 2, 91–83, nº 53. Graindor 1930, 34; Oliver 1953, 965.

[25] Camia 2011, 137–140.

Cependant, cela prouve clairement la relation étroite entre Atticus et Gytheion. Le titre *kèdemôn* lui-même est lié aux termes latins *tutor* et *curator* et désigne quelqu'un comme le patron de Gytheion et de l'ensemble des *Éleuthérolaconiens*. Auparavant, Lacon, le fils du célèbre Eurycles de Sparte, avait un titre similaire, plus tard il sera détenu par le descendant d'Eurycles, Caius Iulius Eurycles Herculanus. Il est donc clair que les petites villes du sud de la Laconie l'ont attribué aux représentants des familles les plus influentes de Sparte et d'Athènes, comptant probablement sur une protection et une médiation dans les contacts avec les autorités romaines.[26]

Le plus intrigant est le titre de *soter kai ktistes* donné à Atticus par les habitants de Gytheion, et surtout le titre de *ktistes* lui-même. Comme nous le savons, au départ, il faisait référence au fondateur de la ville, mais au fil du temps, il a pris une signification plus large, celle du fondateur/rénovateur d'un bâtiment/d'une structure.[27] Le cas de Luccius Vaccius Labeo sous le règne d'Auguste est bien connu. Les habitants de Kyme ont décidé d'honorer un citoyen romain qui s'est distingué dans la vie publique de la ville en lui décernant de nombreux honneurs, parmi lesquels : un temple dans le gymnase, le titre de *ktistes kai euergetes*, un enterrement public dans le gymnase, etc. Labeo accepta certains des honneurs qui lui étaient offerts, mais rejeta le titre de *ktistes* et la dédicace d'un temple dans le gymnase, les considérant comme excessifs et dus aux dieux et aux héros. Il a ainsi fait preuve de modestie, mais aussi de prudence face à la nouvelle réalité politique. L'empereur Auguste refusa les honneurs divins, les evergètes locaux ne devaient donc pas les accepter.[28] Bien qu'au fil du temps, la valeur de ce titre ait diminué et qu'ils l'aient plutôt attribué à leurs bienfaiteurs, ils le faisaient rarement et le titre lui-même restait un honneur extraordinaire. Le plus souvent, il était reçu par des personnes de rang équestre ou, dans le cas d'Atticus, de rang sénatorial.[29] Il est à noter qu'au temps de l'Empire, les villes de la province d'Achaïe attribuaient très rarement le titre de *ktistes* à leurs bienfaiteurs, si cela arrivait, cela concernait l'empereur Hadrien. D'ailleurs, on connaît d'Athènes près d'une centaine d'autels dédiés à Hadrien, *Olympios*, *soter*, *ktistes*, et on ne peut oublier que les habitants de Gytheion décidèrent d'ériger une statue d'Atticus dans cette ville.[30] Il est fort probable que l'intéressé ait lui-même accepté les honneurs qui lui étaient offerts, dont le titre de *ktistes*. Son activité evergétique à Gytheion devait lui apporter également de la splendeur dans sa ville natale.

Il convient de considérer une fois de plus ce qu'Atticus aurait pu offrir à la ville portuaire pour lui faire récompenser par le titre de *soter kai ktistes*. L'importance exceptionnelle de ce dernier titre peut être indiquée par la remarque de Pausanias selon laquelle les habitants de Gytheion prétendaient que leur ville n'avait pas été fondée par l'homme, mais par Héraclès et Apollon.[31] Comme le souligne J. H. M. Strubbe, les bienfaiteurs qui finançaient des travaux de construction ou de réparation dans la ville, notamment en ce qui concerne le gymnase, le lieu le plus important de la ville, ou ceux qui obtenaient des avantages pour la ville des autorités romaines, pouvaient compter sur le titre de culte

[26] Balzat 2008, 345–346.
[27] Kuhn, A. B. 2017, 329.
[28] *IKyme*19; Kuhn, Ch. T. 2017, 202–205.
[29] *IKyme*19; Kuhn, Ch. T. 2017, 202–205.
[30] Camia 2011, 36–39; Camia 2018, 105–137.
[31] Paus. 3.21.8.

des *ktistes*. Les deux avantages furent traités de la même manière.[32] Nous ne savons pas quel bâtiment Atticus a restauré, mais nous avons probablement une autre confirmation, outre le titre de kedemon, qu'il représentait effectivement la ville dans les contacts avec les autorités romaines.

Les activités publiques d'Atticus font preuve d'une grande prudence. Se souvenant de ce qui était arrivé à son père, entré en conflit avec les Athéniens, il essaya d'éviter toute activité politique, n'occupant que des fonctions sacerdotales dans sa ville natale. Il n'était ni un archonte, ni un stratège, ni un héraut de l'Aréopage. A Athènes, ses ambitions furent satisfaites en occupant le poste prestigieux de grand prêtre du culte impérial. C'était l'un des postes sacerdotaux les plus importants de la ville et celui qui l'occupait avait un rôle important à jouer dans les relations d'Athènes avec les autorités romaines.[33] Il a également déployé beaucoup d'efforts pour bâtir le prestige de la famille au niveau provincial. Dans de nombreux endroits, il a agi comme un évergète généreux. Il reçut divers honneurs, mais seuls les habitants de Gytheion l'honorèrent du titre de *soter kai ktistes*. L'exemple d'Atticus montre que le titre de *ktistes*, tout en perdant peut-être peu à peu sa signification culte, restait un honneur extrêmement prestigieux décerné aux plus grands et aux plus riches bienfaiteurs dont les activités contribuèrent à la refondation de la ville. La ville de Gytheion, qui avait connu des difficultés économiques dans le passé, semble s'être retrouvée à nouveau en difficulté au début du IIe siècle.[34] Ce n'est que grâce à l'aide d'Atticus qu'elle a réussi à surmonter la crise. Il est possible que des dispositions visant à honorer le bienfaiteur fassent partie de l'accord. Si tel était le cas, Atticus n'avait pas les mêmes scrupules que Labeo un siècle plus tôt.

ABRÉVIATIONS

IKyme – H. Engelmann, *Die Inschriften von Kyme*, Bonn 1976.

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[32] Strubbe 2004, 315–330.

[33] Camia 2011, 138–140.

[34] Pawlak 2022, 17–19.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 303–320
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.021.21411
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Du fondateur au bienfaiteur. Histoire, archéologie et architecture des *hérôa* en Asie Mineure du IIe siècle av. J.-C. au IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.

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Abstract
From Founder to Benefactor: History, Archeology and Architecture of *hérôa* in Asia Minor (II–III c. AD)

Defining a *heroon* presents both methodological and conceptual challenges. This term pertains less to an architectural form than to the social and symbolic status of the deceased. Indeed, the *heroon* refers to the category of honors traditionally reserved for the mythical founders of Greek cities. This study aims to determine whether, during the Roman period, *heroa* primarily served as visible markers of social distinction or it still corresponded to a form of heroization. The *corpus* examined focuses on Asia Minor, spanning the period from the 2nd century BCE to the 3rd century CE. The approach combines an analysis of epigraphic sources with archaeological data. Such a systematic examination highlights two distinguishing criteria for identifying a *heroon*: exceptional monumentality and a prominent location within the civic space. Moreover, his analysis reveals that elites used *heroa* to express their cultural references, drawing inspiration from both funerary and religious architectural traditions. In Asia Minor, *heroa* served as an additional mean of distinction within the civic landscape. An examination of the honorary decree of Metropolis, unique in its mention of a *heroon* granted by a city, demonstrates a dual purpose: to honor Apollonios for his dedication to his homeland and to reaffirm Metropolis' loyalty to Rome.

Keywords: *heroon*, Roman Asia Minor, founders, tomb, funerary architecture, civic architecture.

Dans le monde grec archaïque et classique, la distinction était claire entre le monde des vivants (*polis*) et le monde des morts (*necropolis*). En effet, de peur que la cité ne portât la souillure du *miasma* des défunts, les Grecs inhumaient leurs morts hors des murailles de la ville. Or, on fit une exception pour les fondateurs de colonies.[1] Pour célébrer leur

[1] Cet article est tiré de mon mémoire de Master 2, « Histoire et archéologie des *hérôa* en Asie Mineure romaine (IIIème siècle av. J.-C. – IVème siècle ap. J.-C.) », réalisé sous la direction de Mme Sophie Lalanne

mémoire, les nouvelles cités leur accordèrent l'honneur d'être inhumés dans l'enceinte de la ville. En ensevelissant parfois les fondateurs au plus près des institutions civiques, leurs concitoyens nourrissaient l'espoir de voir leur générosité continuer à agir par l'intermédiaire de leur tombe. C'est donc à cet endroit que se constitua le culte des fondateurs et que la communauté civique prit l'habitude de se réunir pour leur rendre un culte. Les sources désignent généralement ce type de tombe du terme d'*hérôon*, littéralement « sanctuaire d'un héros ».

A la fin de l'époque hellénistique, puis à l'époque impériale, certains parmi les citoyens les plus importants furent inhumés dans des *hérôa*. Le sens de ce terme semble avoir évolué pour désigner plus largement la tombe d'un citoyen éminent ou d'un notable, à laquelle étaient associés des rites décernés traditionnellement aux fondateurs des cités grecques.[2] Donc, à l'époque romaine, il convient de distinguer deux types d'*hérôa.* Tantôt, de très rares citoyens se voient offrir un *hérôon* par leur cité en remerciement de leur engagement, ce qui indique qu'ils sont implicitement associés à la lignée des fondateurs de la cité. Tantôt, de riches citoyens font construire leur propre *hérôon*, le plus souvent à leurs frais.

Pour cette raison, définir un *hérôon* pose des problèmes méthodologiques autant que conceptuels. S'il est difficile de définir ce qu'était un *hérôon* et de comprendre ce qui le distinguait d'une tombe monumentale, c'est que le terme ne fait pas référence à un type architectural unique, mais à une fonction particulière.[3] Il s'agissait donc d'un édifice honorifique, reconnaissable à plusieurs traits distinctifs. En premier lieu, il se caractérisait par un emplacement privilégié, dans l'enceinte de la cité, par exemple non loin de l'agora ou dans un édifice public. Mais il se distinguait également des autres tombes de notables par sa monumentalité. Ainsi, l'*hérôon* désignait un ensemble architectural qui pouvait comprendre une enceinte, une tombe, un ou des sarcophages et d'éventuelles structures annexes.[4] Il s'agissait d'une tombe monumentale qui, en Asie Mineure, à l'époque hellénistique, prenait souvent la forme d'un temple-tombeau. C'était donc aussi une architecture honorifique, réservée aux plus grands notables des cités, ceux qui précisément cumulaient un grand nombre de titres prestigieux, mais aussi de charges civiques et religieuses.

Le *corpus* étudié ici se concentrera exclusivement sur l'Asie Mineure du II^e^ siècle av. J.-C. au III^e^ siècle ap. J.-C. pour plusieurs raisons. En premier lieu, la région offre de nombreux vestiges archéologiques et témoignages épigraphiques qui permettent de se faire une idée assez juste du phénomène. En outre, il convient de rappeler que les régions de la côte occidentale de l'Asie Mineure concentraient un grand nombre de cités anciennes pourvues de riches récits de fondation. De fait, leurs fondateurs mythiques étaient honorés dans des *hérôa* depuis les vagues de colonisation des époques archaïque et classique. Ces premiers *hérôa* furent probablement une source d'inspiration pour les

à l'Université Paris I – Panthéon-Sorbonne et soutenu en 2022. Je remercie Mme Sophie Lalanne de m'avoir aidée et relue à l'occasion de cet article.

[2] Bérard 1983, 58.

[3] Ginouvès (1998, 57) écrit à ce sujet : « [Un *hérôon*] pouvait prendre les formes les plus diverses, simple autel ou niche votive, ou grotte, ou enclos funéraire formant un téménos hypèthre, ou un tombeau monumental, et en particulier tombeau à cour, ou maison, et même temple : il s'agit donc non d'un type architectural, mais d'une fonction particulière ».

[4] Kubinska 1968, 26 ; Ginouvès 1998, 215 ; Cormack 2004, 147.

tombes monumentales de la période romaine. Enfin, cette région constituait un vaste ensemble culturel marqué par de fortes traditions locales et son architecture funéraire semble avoir été notamment inspirée par deux édifices monumentaux érigés au IVe siècle av. J.-C., à savoir le monument des Néréides de Xanthos en Lycie et le tombeau du roi Mausole à Halicarnasse en Carie.[5] L'influence prégnante de ces deux modèles dans l'architecture funéraire peut expliquer en partie la grande diversité des formes d'*hérôa* dans ces régions d'Asie Mineure.[6]

Notre étude portera plus précisément sur l'époque romaine, c'est-à-dire une étendue chronologique comprise entre le IIe siècle av. J.-C. et le IIIe siècle ap. J.-C., englobant à la fois l'époque hellénistique tardive et la période impériale. En effet, cette période correspond au renforcement de la position des notables dans les cités d'Asie Mineure.[7] Ces notables étaient à la tête des instances décisionnelles et finançaient largement la vie civique : pour les remercier, les cités leur octroyaient de plus en plus d'honneurs. Parmi eux, le plus élevé était certainement d'être inhumé dans l'enceinte de la cité.

L'objectif de cette étude sera de comprendre si, à l'époque romaine, les *hérôa* ne constituaient plus que des signes visuels de distinction, détachés de leur sens honorifique ancien, ou s'ils correspondaient encore à une forme d'héroïsation des notables.

Puisque l'*hérôon* ne correspond pas à un modèle architectural unique mais à une fonction honorifique, nous verrons que pour identifier un édifice funéraire en tant que tel, il est nécessaire de s'appuyer sur des critères qui ont trait à sa fonction plus qu'à son architecture. Puis, nous nous demanderons si les *hérôa* constituaient des outils de distinction dans l'horizon civique. Enfin, nous étudierons l'unique décret honorifique attestant, pour la période de l'octroi d'un *hérôon*.

I. Une structure architecturale difficile à définir

L'*hérôon* apparaît comme une structure difficile à définir avec précision. En effet, le terme d'ἡρῷον est un dérivé de ἥρως, le « héros ». Construit avec le suffixe – ον qui fait référence à un lieu, il désigne étymologiquement le « sanctuaire d'un héros » ou la « tombe d'un héros ».[8] Il suggère donc qu'un culte héroïque était rendu au défunt. De fait, ce terme relève davantage du vocabulaire religieux que de la terminologie de l'architecture.[9] Ainsi, un *hérôon* désigne une fonction particulière : il s'agissait de la tombe d'un héros. Or, précisément, à l'époque romaine, le sens du mot de ἥρως s'est élargi, et pouvait être accordé aux notables les plus importants d'une cité.

En outre, le terme d'*hérôon* ne faisait pas référence à une forme architecturale unique. En effet, ce type d'édifice pouvait revêtir plusieurs formes et les individus qui y étaient

[5] Kubinska 1968, 26 ; Ginouvès 1998, 215 ; Cormack 2004, 147.

[6] Cormack 2004, 147–148. Voir également l'introduction de son ouvrage.

[7] Gauthier 1985 ; Heller 2001, 69.

[8] Chantraine 1968, 399.

[9] Hellmann 2006, 353.

inhumés présentaient des profils hétérogènes. Pour cette raison, il est difficile de distinguer un *hérôon* d'une tombe monumentale.

En réalité, la mention du terme ἡρῷον dans une inscription associée à un édifice pourrait être le seul critère irréfutable pour qualifier une tombe d'*hérôon*. Nous nous sommes donc appuyés sur les quelques attestations disponibles pour établir des critères de définitions, qui nous ont permis ensuite d'élargir notre *corpus.* Nous avons intégré un certain nombre de tombes monumentales qui présentaient des indices suffisants à leur identification comme *hérôa*. Pour inclure un édifice dans notre *corpus*, nous avons établi que la tombe devait présenter au moins trois critères parmi la localisation, la monumentalité, la structure architecturale, l'iconographie, l'attestation d'un culte, la protection de l'*hérôon* et les nombreuses charges et titres honorifiques portés par l'individu inhumé. Nous avons choisi de nous limiter à trois critères au vu de la rareté des vestiges archéologiques et des sources épigraphiques. Par conséquent, nous n'avons sélectionné que les tombes monumentales qui fournissaient assez d'informations pour remplir trois critères. Il est donc possible que certaines tombes monumentales aient été des *hérôa* mais que, par manque de sources, nous les ayons exclues de notre *corpus*.

Parmi les critères, il convient de préciser que seuls deux d'entre eux semblent discriminants dans l'identification d'un *hérôon*. Tout d'abord, il s'agit de la localisation en un lieu stratégique, c'est-à-dire *intra muros*, généralement au cœur de la cité, sur l'agora, voire dans un bâtiment public comme le gymnase. Or, le critère de la localisation dépend également de l'état de conservation des structures et de l'avancée des fouilles archéologiques et il arrive que l'emplacement d'une tombe ne soit pas explicitement localisée dans les publications par rapport à l'espace civique. Le second critère discriminant est la monumentalité. Toutefois, cette monumentalité systématique n'est pas exclusive aux *hérôa*. Par conséquent, elle doit attirer notre attention lors du dépouillement mais ne peut pas être considérée comme un critère discriminant en soi. Ce sont donc ces deux critères qui ont retenu notre attention. En suivant cette méthode, nous avons identifié 62 *hérôa* en Asie Mineure pour la période comprise entre le II^e^ siècle av. J.-C. et le III^e^ siècle ap. J.-C.

II. L'*hérôon*, un outil de distinction visuel dans l'horizon civique

Nous avons relevé la grande diversité des formes architecturales que pouvaient revêtir les *hérôa*. La mise en série des *hérôa* d'Asie Mineure révèle le caractère profondément hétérogène de leur architecture (**Fig. 1**). À première vue, ces édifices disposaient de peu de caractéristiques architecturales communes : l'emplacement des colonnes et pilastres, la taille de la *cella*, la disposition des pièces diffèrent largement d'une structure à l'autre. Par exemple, le nombre de marches menant à la structure pouvait varier : certains *hérôa* étaient accessibles par une volée de quelques marches, comme ceux de Sardes ou Aizanoi, respectivement pourvus de quatre et sept marches, tandis que d'autres disposaient d'un plus grand nombre de marches, comme celui de Pergame qui en comptait dix-huit ; d'autres *hérôa* n'étaient pas du tout accessibles aux visiteurs, comme ceux de Sagalassos ou Mylasa puisque tous deux étaient édifiés sur un haut podium et étaient dépourvus d'entrée.

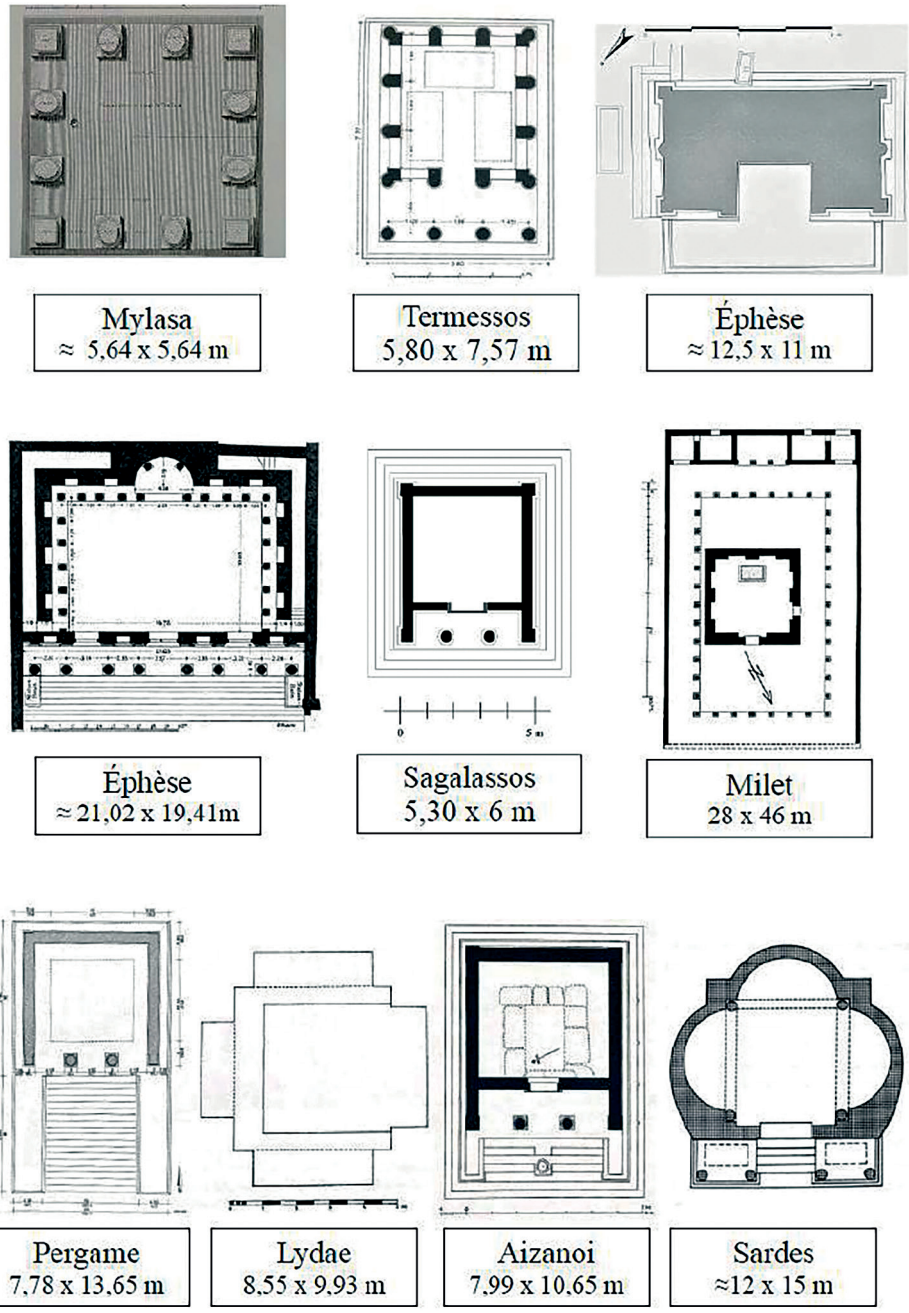

Fig. 1. Comparaison des différents types de plan d'*hérôa* à l'époque romaine, tiré pour Mylasa de Choiseul 1782, chapitre IX, et pour toutes les autres tombes du catalogue de Cormack, 2004

Ces variations se retrouvent dans les plans des édifices. L'*hérôon* d'Aizanoi était un temple-tombeau rectangulaire de plan distyle *in antis*, conçu autour d'une *cella* et disposant d'une crypte. L'*hérôon* de Mylasa, quant à lui, était un temple-tombeau de plan carré, surélevé par un haut podium de plus de deux mètres et non accessible aux visiteurs. De surcroît, sa *cella* n'était pas entourée de murs mais de rangées de colonnes. L'*hérôon* de Lydae s'organisait autour d'une chambre funéraire principale dont les murs étaient creusés de niches semi-circulaires. D'autres édifices s'organisent selon un plan plus singulier et apparaissent comme exceptionnels dans le groupe, comme l'*hérôon* d'Androclos à Éphèse, avec sa *cella* en forme de « U », et celui de Sardes, qui se distinguait par ses volumes arrondis. Enfin, à l'image de la bibliothèque de Celsius à Éphèse, il arrivait qu'une tombe soit intégrée à un édifice public, et soit conçu selon un plan hybride.

Cette diversité architecturale peut s'expliquer par l'adoption de la forme du temple-tombeau. Il s'agit d'un type de tombeau monumental qui reprend les caractéristiques du modèle d'un temple. Les tombes des défunts s'inspiraient donc largement de l'architecture religieuse. En effet, cette catégorie très large, nettement prédominante dans le *corpus,* dont elle représente 73 % des occurrences, se décline en une multiplicité de plans. Aussi, si les *hérôa* d'Aizanoi et de Sagalassos présentent un plan distyle *in antis*, ceux de Lydae et de Sardes un plan prostyle, celui de Termessos un plan tétrastyle prostyle, celui de Milet un plan péristyle et celui de Mylasa un plan périptère, tous ont en commun d'être des temples-tombeaux. Cette inspiration religieuse se ressent également dans les choix des décors, notamment au niveau de l'entablement, des frontons, des colonnes ou des reliefs qui ressemblent fortement à ceux des temples. Il arrivait aussi que soient représentés sur certains reliefs des épisodes marquants de la vie des défunts.

La ressemblance architecturale entre un *hérôon* et un édifice religieux tendait parfois au mimétisme. C'était le cas de l'*hérôon* d'Aizanoi de Phrygie, construit directement sur l'agora et aligné sur le temple de Zeus situé à quelques mètres de lui. Ainsi, tout comme le temple, l'*hérôon* faisait partie des édifices de l'agora. De surcroît, l'édifice reprenait les caractéristiques architecturales et ornementales du temple de Zeus. Il copiait notamment ses chapiteaux ioniques, alors que cet ordre n'était presque plus utilisé dans l'architecture d'époque impériale.[10] L'*hérôon* apparaissait comme une reproduction à échelle réduite du temple de Zeus. Ainsi, en reprenant certaines caractéristiques des temples, les *hérôa* se donnaient parfois à voir comme des espaces sacrés.

Par ailleurs, si les *hérôa* avaient souvent un plan carré de 7 mètres de côté, les dimensions pouvaient fortement varier d'un *hérôon* à l'autre, ainsi que le souligne la mise à la même échelle de plusieurs de ces édifices (**Fig. 2**). L'*hérôon* d'Aizanoi illustre bien la taille moyenne qu'occupaient ces structures. D'autres *hérôa* avaient des proportions remarquables : l'*hérôon* de Sagalassos, malgré ses 14 mètres de hauteur, mesurait seulement 5,30 mètres de long et 6 mètres de large. D'autres édifices se distinguaient dans le *corpus* par leur monumentalité : c'était le cas de la bibliothèque de Celsius à Éphèse, longue de 21 mètres et large de 19 mètres ou encore de l'*Hérôon* III de Milet qui s'étendait sur 28 mètres de long et 46 mètres de large. Ces différences de dimensions peuvent avoir des explications variées, par exemple le fait que l'architecture

[10] Cormack 2004, 52–53.

des *hérôa* dépendait de la densité urbaine et des édifices environnants. De surcroît, un tournant semble être opéré au II[ème] siècle ap. J.-C., une époque où les *hérôa* gagnèrent tous en monumentalité.

En somme, chacune de ses tombes présente des caractéristiques, des formes et des dimensions très variées. Cependant, toutes ont en commun qu'elles abritent la sépulture d'un notable éminent, comparé par analogie aux figures fondatrices. Ainsi, l'*hérôon* apparaissait comme un mode de matérialisation de l'héroïsation du défunt.

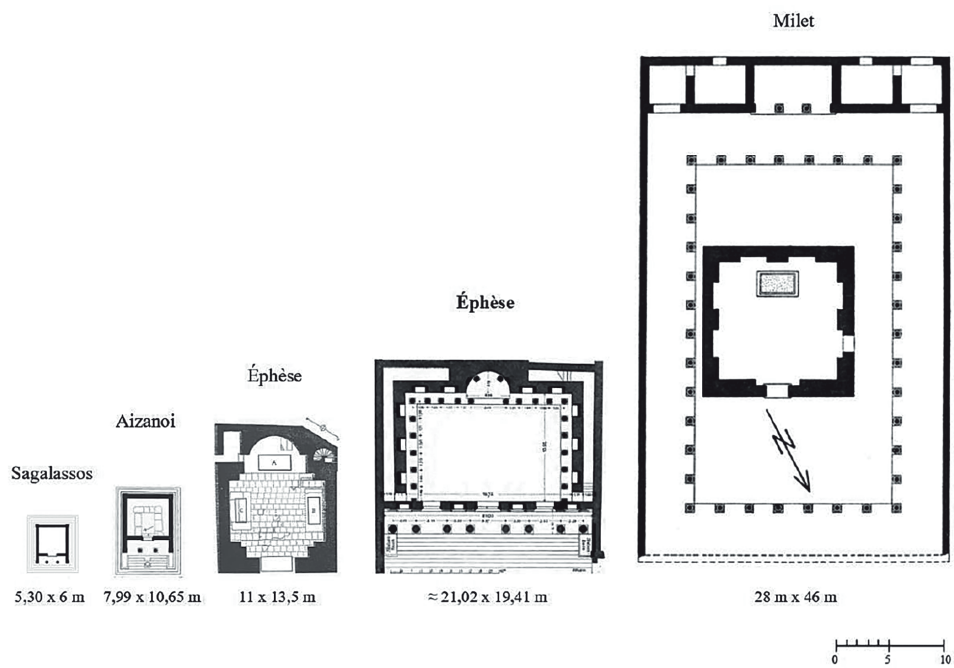

Fig. 2. Comparaison des dimensions des *hérôa* à l'époque romaine tiré du catalogue de Cormack, 2004

III. Inhumer dans un *hérôon* pour préserver la mémoire d'un défenseur de la cité

Les *hérôa* apparaissaient comme des lieux de mémoire dotés d'un fort pouvoir évocateur :[11] il semble que les signes visuels marquaient davantage la mémoire des Anciens que les morts.[12] Parce qu'ils matérialisaient physiquement le statut du défunt dans la cité, il suffisait aux passants de les contempler pour se remémorer la grandeur des notables inhumés. Le terme d'« *hérôon* » n'est attesté entre le II[e] siècle av. J.-C. et le IV[e] siècle ap. J.-C. que dans un unique décret honorifique. Il s'agit d'un décret émis par la cité de

[11] C. Bérard (2013, 141–153) a déjà démontré que l'*hérôon* d'Opramoas était un lieu de mémoire important pour la cité de Rhodiapolis.

[12] Gangloff 2013, 8.

Métropolis, en Ionie, en 131 ou 130 av. J.-C. en l'honneur d'Apollonios, un éminent citoyen mort en combattant pour sa cité.[13] Nous ne disposons donc que d'une source épigraphique, aucune donnée archéologique ne semblant avoir été établie à ce jour à ce sujet.

Le décret *I. Metropolis*, I, A. (**Fig**. **3**) a été gravé sur un bloc de marbre et a été découvert en 1999 par des archéologues sur le site archéologique de Métropolis. Le bloc est inscrit sur deux faces. Un premier long décret se trouve sur la face principale (**Fig. 4**) daté de 131 ou 130 av. J.-C.[14] Un second décret, plus court, placé sur le côté gauche de l'inscription principale, est daté des années 145 à 143 av. J.-C.[15] Ce bloc de marbre était probablement la base d'une statue dédiée à Apollonios, sur laquelle avait été gravé ce décret honorifique. La statue n'a pas été retrouvée lors des campagnes de fouilles archéologiques, le bronze ayant pu être fondu et réutilisé.[16] La base de statue a été découverte dans le remblai de la terrasse de l'agora, au nord du *bouleutérion*, ce qui laisse à penser que la statue se trouvait sur l'agora elle-même.[17]

En effet, Métropolis était une cité d'Ionie bâtie sur une succession de terrasses occupant la pente d'un promontoire rocheux. Du haut de l'acropole, on surplombait la plaine du Caÿstre. Cité de petite taille, Métropolis occupait pourtant une place importante dans la région (**Fig. 5**).[18] En effet, elle se situait à proximité immédiate de deux des plus grandes cités ioniennes, Éphèse et Smyrne, et, surtout, elle se trouvait sur la route reliant Pergame, Éphèse et Smyrne, qui était un axe commercial essentiel pour l'économie régionale. Par ailleurs, Métropolis tirait grand profit des productions agricoles de sa vallée, rendue fertile par les crues régulières du Caÿstre, et notamment des vins qui faisaient sa renommée, selon Strabon.[19]A l'époque hellénistique, elle devint une cité particulièrement prospère. En effet, la domination attalide mise en place vers 188 av. J.-C. lui offrit les conditions d'un fort développement socio-économique,[20] ce qu'indique la construction du théâtre, de la grande *stoa* et des bains. Enfin, vers 129 av. J.-C., Métropolis obtint le statut de cité libre et commença à émettre sa propre monnaie. Les deux décrets en l'honneur d'Apollonios sont cependant antérieurs à l'obtention de ce nouveau statut.

Les premières études consacrées à Métropolis datent de 1860.[21] Dans un premier temps, celles-ci consistèrent essentiellement en l'analyse des inscriptions qui mentionnaient la cité. Puis, l'identification des rivières et des lacs proches de Métropolis permit de préciser la localisation de la cité, jusqu'à ce que des observations topographiques permirent de déterminer l'emplacement du théâtre. Plus tard, l'Institut d'Archéologie Australienne mena des sondages dans la région de Smyrne et procéda à la collecte des inscriptions et des statues retrouvées sur le site de Métropolis. Un sondage archéologique fut réalisé en 1971 et les premières fouilles archéologiques commencèrent en 1989, en restant limitées à certaines zones. Elles permirent la mise au jour du théâtre, de la *stoa*, du bouleutérion et d'un bain (**Fig. 6**).

[13] *I. Metropolis*, I, A.

[14] Sur les questions de datation : Dreyer – Engelmann 2003.

[15] Dreyer – Engelmann 2003 ; Heller 2019. D'après les caractéristiques graphiques notamment.

[16] Aybek – Meriç – Öz 2009, 55.

[17] Hypothèse également retenue dans *SEG* 53.1312 et dans l'*AE* 2003. 574.

[18] Strabon, XIV, 1, 2.

[19] Strabon, XIV, I, 15.

[20] Aybek – Meriç – Öz 2009, 42.

[21] Pour une synthèse des fouilles menées sur le cite archéologique de Métropolis : Aybek – Meriç – Öz 2009, 40–47.

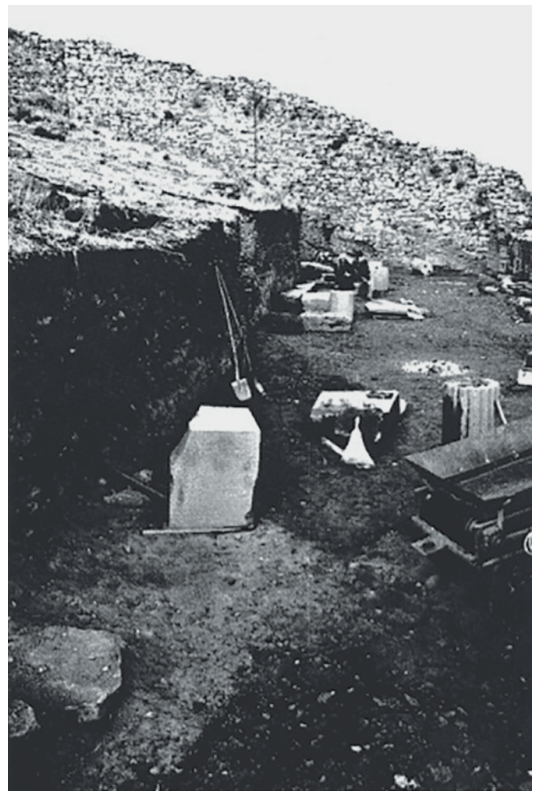

Fig. 3. Découverte de l'inscription, tirée de Dreyer – Engelmann 2003, 3

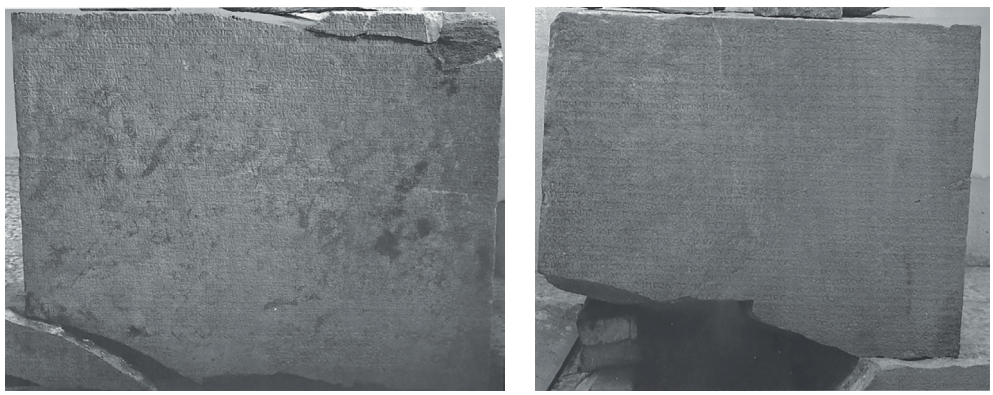

Fig. 4. Décret A et B, tirés de Dreyer – Engelmann 2003, 137–138

Fig. 5. Carte de l'Ionie, tirée de Brun 2004, 25

En même temps, des traces très anciennes d'habitations similaires à celles qui avaient été trouvées à Éphèse furent identifiées. Métropolis a depuis livré un matériel archéologique abondant, constitué notamment d'inscriptions et de statues. Les chercheurs ont conclu que le site avait connu une période de grande prospérité à l'époque hellénistique, lorsque Métropolis était sous la domination du royaume de Pergame. C'est à l'occasion de la reprise des fouilles dans les années 1990 que fut découverte la base de statue offerte à Apollonios.

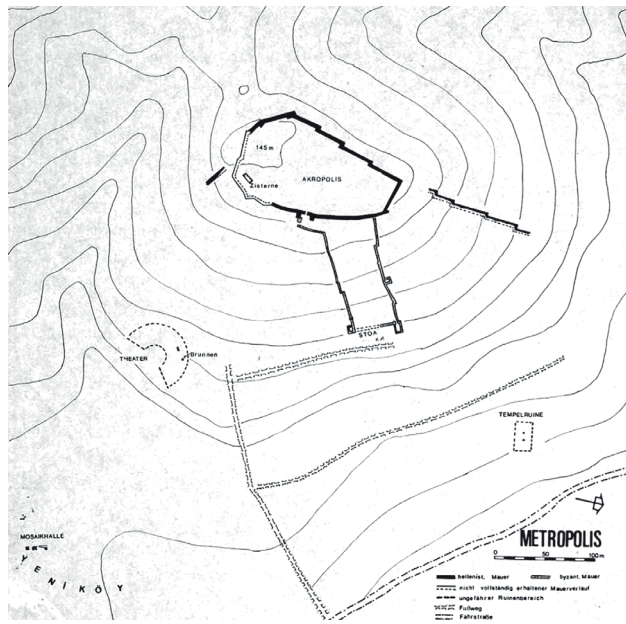

Fig. 6. Plan de Métropolis, tirée de Meriç 1982, 114

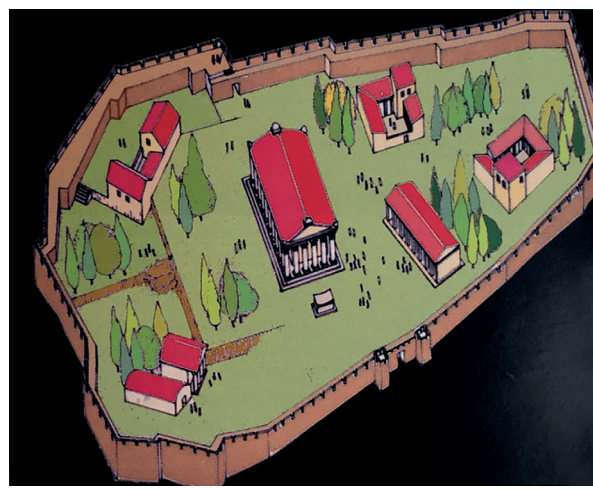

Fig. 7. Reconstitution de l'acropole de Métropolis, tirée de Aybek – Meriç – Öz 2009, 71

Datée de 131 ou 130 av. J.-C., la première de nos inscriptions se place dans le contexte de la guerre d'Aristonikos.[22] Au début de l'année 133 av. J.-C., Attale III mourut et ne désigna aucun héritier direct chargé de diriger son royaume. Il s'éteignit en laissant derrière lui un testament par lequel il cédait tous ses territoires à Rome, à l'exception de Pergame. Bien qu'Attale III ait tenté d'écarter tous ses descendants du pouvoir par la rédaction de ce testament, Aristonikos s'empressa de s'emparer du pouvoir. Fils illégitime d'Eumène II et demi-frère d'Attale III, il revendiqua l'ensemble des territoires du royaume et prit le nom d'Eumène III. Aristonikos, après avoir échoué à obtenir le soutien des sujets de l'ancien royaume attalide, prit les armes avec l'appui des populations rurales et des bandes d'esclaves affranchis. En 132 av. J.-C., Rome envoya une commission sénatoriale qui, malgré des revers initiaux, finit par vaincre Aristonikos en 130 av. J.-C., sous la conduite de Marcus Perperna. Cette défaite permit à Rome de pacifier la région et de créer la province d'Asie en 129 av. J.-C. Mais cette inscription nous est utile parce qu'elle est la seule attestation d'un *hérôon* octroyé par décret honorifique à l'époque hellénistique.

Le décret B est l'inscription la plus ancienne, et il convient de le commenter brièvement. En effet, il est explicitement daté de la quinzième année de règne du roi Attale II Philadelphe, c'est-à-dire entre 145 et 143 av. J.-C. Le décret B s'ouvre par un intitulé (*ll*. 1 à 4) qui précise la date et le nom des stratèges. Ensuite, les considérants énumèrent les actions qu'Apollonios accomplit pour Métropolis (*ll*. 4 à 28) : il s'illustra notamment en menant à bien plusieurs ambassades auprès d'autres cités et auprès de rois, et en s'engageant activement dans la vie de la cité. Effectivement, il fut chargé de représenter Métropolis à de multiples reprises, menant des ambassades auprès des rois et intervenant dans des disputes avec les cités voisines. Or, Métropolis se situait à proximité de grandes cités libres comme Colophon et Éphèse avec qui elle entretenait des rapports parfois houleux.[23] La fin du décret honorifique ne précise pas que la décision doive être inscrite sur une stèle : ce décret a pu donc être ressorti des archives après la mort d'Apollonios pour compléter le décret A.[24]

Le décret A, le plus récent donc, doit davantage attirer notre attention dans le cadre de notre étude. Il débute par un intitulé (*ll*. 1 à 3) qui précise la date de la décision et les noms des stratèges. L'inscription se poursuit par les considérants (*ll*. 3 à 35), qui peuvent être divisés en plusieurs parties. En effet, le décret rappelle successivement les actions qu'Apollonios a menées en faveur de sa cité (*ll*. 3 à 9) et les honneurs civiques qui lui ont été décernés par Métropolis pour le remercier (*ll*. 9 à 13). Ces honneurs précédemment votés sont ceux qu'évoque le décret B. Puis, le décret A aborde la prise de pouvoir d'Aristonikos au lendemain de la mort d'Attale III Philomètôr (*ll*. 13 à 19). Il explique que Métropolis s'opposa à Aristonikos et envoya des renforts au camp militaire romain de Thyatire, renforts commandés par Apollonios qui s'illustra par sa bravoure et sa loyauté envers sa cité (*ll*. 19 à 33). Après avoir indiqué qu'Apollonios mourut au combat pour défendre sa cité, l'inscription se poursuit par une brève formule de résolution (*ll*. 34 à 35). Le dispositif précise ensuite les honneurs votés pour Apollonios, parmi lesquels l'érection

[22] Sur la guerre d'Aristonikos : Sánchez 1994, 361–369 ; Ferrary 2001, 93–106 ; Will 2003, 417–425 ; Brun 2004, 17–21.

[23] Dreyer – Engelmann 2003, 49–50 ; Jones 2004, 476.

[24] Jones 2004, 477.

d'une statue, la construction d'un *hérôon* et le rapatriement de ses ossements (*ll*. 35 à 48). Enfin, l'inscription s'achève par la liste des citoyens de Métropolis tués durant la guerre contre Aristonikos (*ll*. 49 à 56).

Il est intéressant de noter que ces deux inscriptions revêtent une forme originale. En effet, ces deux décrets honorifiques sont inscrits sur la base d'une statue. Or, à la fin de l'époque hellénistique, on observe un changement dans l'*habitus* épigraphique appelé « *epigraphic turn* ». Si, en effet, à l'époque hellénistique, de nombreux décrets honorifiques étaient gravés en entier sur des stèles, cet usage déclina progressivement à l'époque impériale, laissant place à la gravure d'inscriptions honorifiques, le plus souvent sur des bases de statues. Plus concises, ces inscriptions honorifiques donnent une sorte de résumé du décret honorifique voté par le Conseil et le Peuple. Pourtant, on remarque que la base de statue honorant Apollonios présente deux décrets honorifiques complets. Cet ensemble paraît donc constituer une étape intermédiaire entre la stèle donnant le décret honorifique complet et l'inscription honorifique résumant le décret. Il est également possible que la cité de Métropolis ait considéré qu'Apollonios avait joué un rôle si important dans son histoire qu'elle ait jugé nécessaire de graver l'intégralité du décret honorifique sur la base de la statue, pour rappeler aux citoyens le dévouement d'Apollonios et ériger sa vie au rang d'*exemplum* au sein de l'espace civique.

Nous allons maintenant faire porter notre attention sur le décret A qui évoque la fondation d'un *hérôon* en l'honneur d'Apollonios. Tout d'abord, le décret contextualise les événements (*ll*. 13 à 19). Lorsque qu'Attale III mourut, les Romains, devenus souverains des territoires attalides par testament, décidèrent de rendre leur liberté aux cités de l'ancien royaume. Aristonikos tenta alors de prendre le pouvoir, suscitant l'espoir de nombreuses cités grecques, mais se heurta à la résistance romaine. C'est dans ce contexte qu'Apollonios fut envoyé combattre « contre celui qui avait revêtu les insignes royaux contre la décision des bienfaiteurs publics que sont les Romains » (*ll*. 17–18 : ὑπέστη κατὰ τοῦ περιτεθεικότος ἑαυτῶι βασιλείαν παρὰ τὴν τῶν κοινῶν εὐεργετῶν Ῥωμαίων κρίσιν). Ainsi, il agit « selon la volonté du peuple » (*ll*. 18–19 : κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Δήμου πρόθεσιν). Se ralliant aux Romains, la cité de Métropolis estima alors nécessaire « d'envoyer des jeunes gens au camp militaire de Thyatire » (*ll*. 19–20 : ἀποσταλῆναι νεανίσκους εἰς τὴν περὶ Θυάτειρα στρατοπεδείαν). Par un vote, la cité désigna Apollonios comme chef de l'expédition. Il prit alors les jeunes sous ses ordres et rejoignit Publicus, Gaius et Papius (*l*. 26 : λαβὼν τοὺς ὑποταγέντας ἑαυτῶι νεανίσκους καὶ ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Πόπλιον καὶ Γάϊον καὶ Πάπ<ι>ον). Or, ces troupes de Thyatire dirigées par Publius, Gaius et Papius relevaient de l'armée de Publius Licinius Crassus, envoyée en Asie par le Sénat en 131 av. J.-C.[25] Le nom de Publius serait mentionné en premier dans l'inscription pour marquer son rang et le respect que la cité de Métropolis lui portait,[26] même si seul son *praenomen* a été retenu. Apollonios aurait donc rejoint l'armée de Publius Licinius Crassus envoyée par Rome pour combattre Aristonikos à Thyatire. Mais les Romains furent défaits par Aristonikos, Publius

[25] Jones 2004, 479. Le chef « Publius » mentionné dans l'inscription pourrait alors désigner P. Licinius Crassus.

[26] Jones 2004, 479.

Licinius Crassus périt dans les combats,[27] et c'est vraisemblablement au cours de cette bataille également qu'Apollonios trouva la mort.[28]

Ensuite, la cité de Métropolis vota un certain nombre d'honneurs à la mémoire d'Apollonios pour rappeler les nombreux services qu'il rendit à la cité. Elle autorisa notamment Attalos et Hagèsandros, ses deux fils, à construire un *hérôon* pour leur père (*l.* 42 : δεδόσθαι δὲ ἐξουσίαν τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι ἡρῶιον). Ils obtinrent l'autorisation de construire cette tombe « sur leur propriété » (*l.* 42 : ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις). Or, cette expression est assez vague. En effet, l'adjectif « τά ἴδια » signifie « propre », « particulier ». Dans l'expression « τοῖς ἰδίοις », il est employé en tant que substantif : l'expression désigne de façon générale « leur propriété », « leur propre terrain » ou « leurs biens privés ».[29] Plusieurs hypothèses peuvent alors être formulées. Tout d'abord, puisqu'il est question d'une tombe, la première hypothèse serait que l'expression « ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις » désigne une concession privée dans une nécropole. Cette concession pourrait avoir appartenu à la famille d'Apollonios avant sa mort, ou bien ses deux fils pourraient l'avoir achetée spécialement pour l'y inhumer après avoir obtenu l'autorisation de la cité. Mais nous pouvons supposer aussi que l'expression « ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις » désigne « leur propre terrain ». Il s'agirait alors d'un terrain privé appartenant aux fils d'Apollonios. Une fois encore, il est impossible de déterminer si cette propriété appartenait déjà à la famille avant le décès d'Apollonios ou si les deux fils achetèrent un terrain pour l'occasion. Il apparaît en tout cas qu'au milieu du II^e^ siècle av. J.-C., la construction d'un *hérôon* était soumise à l'autorisation de la cité, même s'il était construit sur un terrain privé appartenant à la famille du défunt. L'implication de la cité souligne la nature particulière de ce type d'édifice.

D'autre part, il est nécessaire de s'interroger sur les modalités de financement de la construction de l'*hérôon* d'Apollonios. En effet, l'inscription précise que ses fils, Attalos et Hagèsandros, déclarent qu'ils « supporteront les frais qui en résulteront » (*l.* 40 : τῶν δὲ υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ᾽Αττάλου καὶ ῾Αγησάνδρου φαμένων παρ᾽ ἑαυτῶν δώσειν τὸ γενόμενον εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνημα). Ces frais évoqués sont ceux engendrés par l'érection d'une statue en bronze sur l'agora, la construction de l'*hérôon* et le rapatriement des ossements d'Apollonios. De fait, puisque les dépenses ne sont pas clairement mentionnées dans ce décret, nous ne savons pas si la cité participa au financement de l'*hérôon*. En effet, elle octroya à Apollonios l'honneur d'être inhumé dans un *hérôon,* mais ne lui en offrit pas nécessairement la construction. Nous pouvons en effet faire un parallèle avec certaines statues honorifiques, octroyées par la cité mais financées en partie ou totalement par les familles[30]. Les différents honneurs votés par la cité furent donc probablement pris en charge par Attalos et Hagèsandros. Et ces frais devaient être particulièrement élevés. En effet, la fabrication d'une statue de bronze placée sur une base de marbre et la construction d'un *hérôon* devaient être particulièrement coûteuses car elles nécessitaient, outre l'achat des matériaux de prix, de rémunérer des architectes, des constructeurs, des tailleurs de pierre, des sculpteurs, etc. Enfin, à ces frais s'ajoutaient ceux du rapatriement des ossements. Ce coût devait être d'autant plus élevé qu'Apollonios avait probablement perdu

[27] Will 2003, 420.

[28] Pour un commentaire de l'action menée par Apollonios, voir notamment Heller 2006, et surtout le chapitre 2 et pp. 61–63.

[29] Chantraine 1968, 438.

[30] Ma 2013, 237.

la vie à Thyatire, à plus de 110 km de Métropolis. Enfin, une ambassade fut certainement envoyée afin de demander les restes d'Apollonios et on peut supposer qu'un cortège les accueillit sûrement.

En outre, la cité décida d'inhumer Apollonios dans un *hérôon* « devant la porte » (*l.* 42 : πρὸ τῆς πύλης). Puisque les fouilles archéologiques n'ont pas mis au jour une tombe monumentale qui pourrait être associée à l'*hérôon* décrit dans le décret A, plusieurs hypothèses peuvent être formulées quant à sa localisation. Qualifiant à l'origine le « battant d'une porte », le singulier de πύλη peut également désigner une « entrée » ou un « accès ». Deux hypothèses peuvent donc être envisagées. D'une part, il est possible que l'expression « πρὸ τῆς πύλης » désigne l'entrée d'une nécropole. En effet, les deux fils d'Apollonios pourraient avoir acheté une concession dans une nécropole. Le défunt aurait alors bénéficié d'un emplacement privilégié et bien en vue, au niveau de la porte d'entrée. Cependant, les campagnes de fouilles archéologiques n'ont pas encore mis au jour de nécropole ni de structure d'enceinte destinée à entourer une nécropole. D'autre part, au vu des nombreux honneurs civiques rendus à Apollonios par Métropolis, il est possible qu'il ait été inhumé à proximité de l'espace civique, à la vue de tous.[31] Or, à l'époque hellénistique, l'espace le plus en vue à Métropolis était l'acropole, qui se trouvait sur un promontoire rocheux (**Fig. 6**). D'après l'étude des structures et du matériel archéologique, l'acropole connut une période d'apogée au III^e^ siècle av. J.-C. C'est à cette époque qu'elle fut progressivement urbanisée et qu'elle devint un quartier cossu. De plus, l'acropole était entourée par un mur de fortification haut de trois mètres construit à l'époque hellénistique. À l'Est, le mur de fortification était percé d'une porte (**Fig. 6 et 7**). Il s'agissait d'une porte monumentale flanquée de deux tours et qui dominait la plaine. Cette porte donnait accès à la partie basse de la ville (**Fig. 6 et 7**). Or, lorsqu'il est au pluriel, « πύλαι » désigne généralement une « porte double »[32] : ainsi, le terme de « πύλη », employé au singulier dans le décret A, pourrait désigner une partie de la porte flanquée de deux tours. Cette hypothèse concorderait avec le lieu de la découverte du bloc de marbre, découvert dans les décombres de la terrasse de l'agora. Le décret projetait de construire l'*hérôon* « devant la porte » (l. 42 : πρὸ τῆς πύλης). Or, la préposition « πρὸ » ne permet pas de déterminer avec certitude de quel côté de la fortification la tombe se trouvait. Cependant, au regard de l'implication d'Apollonios dans la défense de Métropolis, il est probable que sa tombe ait été érigée à l'intérieur de l'enceinte de la cité.

En somme, on peut estimer à bon droit qu'Apollonios fut inhumé dans un *hérôon* construit en son honneur au niveau de l'une des tours de la porte monumentale, à l'Est de l'acropole. Il s'agissait d'un emplacement privilégié, dans les cités grecques d'époque hellénistique, réservé aux personnages les plus importants. En effet, l'*hérôon* se trouvait exposé à la vue de toute personne entrant ou sortant de la cité. Par sa présence, l'*hérôon* rappelait à chaque membre de la communauté civique les combats et les bienfaits du défunt. Il devenait alors la matérialisation du souvenir de la figure héroïque dans l'espace civique. De plus, la communauté civique pouvait espérer que les bienfaits de son défunt continueraient de se répandre après sa mort par l'intermédiaire de sa tombe, dans l'enceinte

[31] Pour un exemple de tombe monumentale érigée à la haute époque hellénistique, voir le cas d'Arastos à Sicyône : Fröhlich 2013, 250–253.

[32] Chantraine 1968, 919.

de la cité mais aussi à l'extérieur de la ville. En choisissant d'inhumer Apollonios devant la porte de la cité, la cité l'érigeait ainsi au rang de héros protecteur et bienveillant.

Enfin, ce décret en l'honneur d'Apollonios apparaît comme une façon pour Métropolis de rappeler à Rome sa loyauté envers elle. Dans l'inscription A, les Romains sont qualifiés de « bienfaiteurs publics et sauveurs » (*l.* 14 : τῶν κοινῶν εὐεργετῶν τε καὶ σωτήρων) ou de « bienfaiteurs publics » (*l.* 18 : τῶν κοινῶν εὐεργετῶν). En effet, il s'agit d'une expression couramment employée à partir des années 190-180 av. J.-C. pour désigner les Romains. Ces titres suggèrent que les cités grecques qui les employaient reconnaissaient aux Romains une autorité supérieure à celle des monarchies hellénistiques[33]. Mais le décret insiste aussi sur la relation individuelle de Métropolis avec Rome (*ll.* 20 à 25) :

> ὁ Δῆμος ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς ἠρετικὼς τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν, καὶ μετὰ τῆς μεγίστης χαρᾶς ἀποδεξάμενος τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, βουλόμενός τε τὴν ἰδίαν αἵρεσιν καὶ εὔνοιαν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς, ἣν ἔχει πρὸς τὰ δημόσια Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἐναποδείκνυσθαι, ἐχειροτόνησεν ἡγεμόνα ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν νεανίσκων ἐξαποστολῆς Ἀπολλώνιον Ἀττάλου τοῦ Ἄνδρωνος, ὃς ὑπομείνας καὶ προαιρούμενος.
>
> « Le Peuple, qui s'était attaché depuis le début à la puissance des Romains, à leur amitié et à l'alliance conclus avec eux, et avait reçu avec la plus grande joie la liberté, voulant exprimer clairement la préférence qui lui était propre et le dévouement qu'il avait envers l'État romain dans les circonstances les plus critiques, désigna par un vote à main levée comme chef Apollonios, fils d'Attalos, fils d'Andron, pour diriger l'envoi des jeunes gens. »

Par ce décret et donc aussi par le placement bien en vue du tombeau d'Apollonis, le peuple de Métropolis entendait donc également souligner son soutien envers Rome lors de la guerre d'Aristonikos. En effet, la communauté civique vit dans ce décret l'occasion de souligner son amitié (φιλία) et son alliance (συμμαχία) avec les Romains, en rappelant qu'elle leur devait sa liberté (ἐλευθερία). De surcroît, elle en profitait pour souligner que son dévouement envers Rome s'était maintenu dans les circonstances les plus critiques (εὔνοιαν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς). Ainsi, elle justifiait l'envoi de renforts menés par Apollonios par la volonté de soutenir les Romains contre les troupes d'Aristonikos. L'objectif de ce décret honorifique était donc double. D'une part, le peuple de Métropolis louait Apollonios pour son dévouement envers la cité. D'autre part, l'inscription était l'occasion pour la cité de rappeler qu'elle avait préféré se rallier aux Romains plutôt que de soutenir l'entreprise d'Aristonikos, à la différence de nombreuses cités grecques. D'une certaine façon, on peut se demander si l'*hérôon* n'était pas une façon d'inscrire matériellement dans l'espace civique le fait que Métropolis était une alliée de Rome. Ainsi, l'édifice lui permettait de souligner le lien d'amitié qui la liait au pouvoir romain, mais aussi d'accroître sa légitimité vis-à-vis des cités voisines et de tirer de cette alliance du prestige et des bénéfices divers.

[33] Erskine 1994, 70–87 ; Heller 2020, 26.

Conclusion

Au terme de cette étude, il apparaît que l'*hérôon* reste un édifice difficile à saisir puisqu'il ne fait référence à aucune forme architecturale précise. L'étude des rares attestations épigraphiques et archéologiques en Asie Mineure nous a permis cependant d'établir des critères de définition. Parmi ceux-ci, deux sont discriminants dans l'identification d'un *hérôon*. Tout d'abord, il s'agit de la monumentalité de l'édifice. Le second critère retenu est la localisation de l'édifice au cœur de l'espace public, qu'il s'agisse de l'agora ou d'un édifice public tel que le gymnase. Ce sont donc ces deux caractéristiques qui permettent de reconnaître et identifier des *hérôa*. En suivant cette méthode, 62 *hérôa* ont pu être identifiés en Asie Mineure pour la période comprise entre le II^e^ siècle av. J.-C. et le III^e^ siècle ap. J.-C.

Par ailleurs, la grande diversité des formes architecturales ressort nettement lors de la mise en série des *hérôa.* En effet, l'étude souligne la souplesse du modèle de l'*hérôon* qui permettait d'adapter l'édifice au statut du notable : plan architectural, dimensions, décors, etc. Mais c'est la forme du temple-tombeau qui prédomine, tendant parfois jusqu'à l'imitation de l'architecture religieuse. Ainsi, en s'inspirant des caractéristiques des temples, les *hérôa* s'assimilaient à des espaces sacrés.

Enfin, les *hérôa* étaient un moyen de préserver durablement la mémoire des grands notables. Le seul décret honorifique, émis par la cité de Métropolis en 131 ou 130 av. J.-C., permet d'étudier l'implication de la cité dans l'élévation d'un *hérôon*. Par exemple, dans le contexte de la guerre d'Aristonikos, Métropolis décida d'honorer la mémoire d'Apollonios pour le remercier de son dévouement envers sa patrie. Même si, comme il se devait, ce ne fut pas la cité qui prit en charge les frais de construction mais ses deux fils, Attalos et Hagèsandros, l'*hérôon* fut construit devant la porte monumentale de la cité. Tombe honorifique, il incarnait aussi la loyauté de Métropolis envers Rome, décidée à soutenir les Romains plutôt qu'Aristonikos.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 321–335
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.022.21412
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

(Re)inventing the Past: Greek Sophists of the Early Roman Empire on the Foundations of Cities[1]

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Abstract

In the rhetorical theory of the early Roman Empire, a distinct subgenre of epideictic oratory emerges: the encomium of cities, absent in earlier rhetorical traditions. A consistent feature of these enkomia is the recounting of a city's foundation and its earliest history. This article examines specific examples of rhetorical strategies used by speakers who recall well-known historical narratives, draw upon lesser-known mythological tales, or introduce entirely new elements into the tradition. The efforts of orators contributed to shaping the propaganda of *poleis* and reinforced their prestige.

Keywords: early Roman Empire, rhetors and sophists, *encomia*, foundations of cities.

This article examines the contributions of Greek rhetors and sophists[2] during the early Imperial period to the invention and narration of foundation myths for Greek cities. Before presenting the various strategies employed by the rhetors and sophists, it is important to acknowledge that these activities were not exclusive to orators. Historians of the era often addressed this topic, *ktiseis* and *patria* were extremely popular genres of historical writing.[3] Poets and grammarians also explored the earliest history of the city. To illustrate this, I will present two examples based on epigraphic evidence. In the early second century CE, the poet Gaius Iulius Longianos of Aphrodisias gave public recitations of his poems (ἐπιδείξεις) in Halikarnassos. Bronze statues of him were erected in the sanctuary

[1] This article is an expanded version of the paper presented at the conference "Ktistes" in Kraków in September 2023. I express my deep gratitude to Professor Edward Dąbrowa for inviting me to this conference.

[2] I am aware that the term "rhetor" has a broader meaning and can refer to legal speakers or local politicians, while "sophist" most often denotes a teacher of rhetoric and speakers specializing in epideictic oratory. In this article, I use the terms as they are applied in the sources where the rhetors and sophists are attested.

[3] Janiszewski 2006, 165–188.

of the Muses and in the gymnasium, next to the statue of Herodotos.[4] It is remarkable that his poems were esteemed on a par with the writings of the ancients. Although Longianos' poems have not survived, it is likely that he addressed, among other topics, mythological subjects and the foundation of Halikarnassos. Around the same time, the authorities of Halikarnassos designated Aphrodisias as their "relative" (*syngenes*),[5] suggesting that Longianos had specific foundation legends in mind—most probably the founding of both cities by Bellerophon.[6]

The second example concerns the grammarian Tiberius Claudius Anteros, who is known from an honorary inscription discovered at Labraunda.[7] The inscription was carved after 127 CE, when Athens reinstated the Council of the Five Hundred. Anteros was honored by Athenian institutions and by the *demos* of another city. The first line of the inscription is damaged; Louis Robert suggested Mylasa and proposed the restoration: [Μυλασέων ὁ δ]ῆμος ("the *demos* of the Mylaseans"). Claudius Anteros is described as the individual responsible for the advancement of the local elite (προαχθέντων πολιτῶν), capable of attracting foreigners to the city with his lectures, and who taught the youth at the gymnasium in many disciplines of knowledge (ποικίλας ἐπιστήμας). Anteros was also the author of the local history of his native city (Mylasa?), which he undoubtedly also addressed in his lectures: "(He was also honored) because he made the beautiful deeds of his native city known to the Greeks through his local histories" (*ll*. 20–25: καὶ ὅτι τὰ τῆς πατρίδος καλὰ εἰς μέσους τοὺς Ἕλληνας προήγαγεν διὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἱστοριῶν). It is highly probable that the endeavors of Anteros were associated with the city's attempts to secure membership in the Panhellenion, reflecting an increased interest in the city's historical narrative during the second century CE. It is evident that Anteros explored, described, or perhaps to some extent invented the most ancient origins of the *polis*.

Although various intellectuals delved into the ancient histories of cities and their foundations, the practice of rhetorical city praise holds a unique position. In his classic work devoted to the rhetoric of praise, Laurent Pernot brilliantly demonstrated that the praise of cities—a genre of epideictic rhetoric—became a distinct rhetorical genre in Imperial-period rhetoric textbooks and flourished in the rhetoric of the Empire.[8] There is no mention of city praise in earlier books and rhetorical handbooks such as Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, *Rhetoric to Alexander*, or *Rhetoric to Herennius*. However, in the textbooks of the imperial period, alongside praise for gods, living individuals (including emperors), as well as the deceased, animals, material objects, or virtues, a separate "subgenre" emerged—the encomium of cities.

Theorists of rhetoric during the imperial era agreed that city praise should include a description of the geographical location, climate, political system, and admirable buildings. The earliest origins of the *polis* and its foundation were consistently emphasized

[4] *I.Aph*., 12.27, see esp. col. II, *ll*. 2–4 and col. II, *ll*. 10–17.

[5] *I.Aph*., 12.27, col. II, *ll*.18–20: ὅπως δὲ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν συνγενῶν Ἀφρο|δεισιέων φανερὰ γένηται ἡ ἡμετέρα περὶ τὸν πολε[ί]|την αὐτῶν εὔνοια καὶ σπουδή.

[6] Chaniotis 2009, 320–321.

[7] *Labraunda* III, no. 66 (with commentary of Robert, *BE* 1973, 414); Chaniotis 1988, no. 25; Stebnicka 2018, no. 27.

[8] Pernot 1993, esp. vol. 1, 55–111; see also Pernot 2015.

as essential elements of the encomia.[9] Pseudo-Dionysios of Halikarnassos (early second century CE?), in his extant treatise *Techne Rhetorike*, writes that one should praise the size, beauty, location, myths (μύθους) about the city, honors conferred by emperors (τιμὰς παρὰ βασιλέων), the strength of the city's revenues, the education of its citizens, and also specify whether the founder (κτίστης) was a god, a hero, a human, or perhaps an emperor.[10]

In the *Progymnasmata* attributed to Hermogenes,[11] the author advises that a rhetor undertaking the praise of a city "will speak about its origin (περὶ γένους), stating that its people are autochthonous (αὐτόχθονες), and about its growth, how it was nurtured by the gods, and about education, how the people were taught by the gods. And, as with the case of a man, you will examine what kind of character the city possesses (ποταπὴ τοὺς τρόπους ἡ πόλις), what kind of institutions it has (ποταπὴ τὴν κατασκευήν), what pursuits it follows (τίσι ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐχρήσατο), and what it has accomplished (κατέπραξεν)."[12] It should be noted here that Quintilianus, when discussing early rhetorical education and presenting elementary exercises known from the Greek *Progymnasmata*,[13] also included in his *Institutio Oratoria* a brief characterization of the praise of cities, interestingly personifying them.[14] He argued that cities should be praised as if they were people: the founder (*conditor*) is like a parent, and much of a city's authority derives from its antiquity, "as in the case of those who are said to have originated from the earth itself" (*multum auctoritatis adfert vetustas, ut iis, qui terra dicuntur orti*). The concept of autochthony, found both in the *Progymnasmata* of Pseudo-Hermogenes and in Quintilianus, is undoubtedly connected to the Athenians—descendants of Erechtheus[15]—who served as the model of Greekness and antiquity during the early Imperial period. Quintilianus further writes that virtues and faults reflect upon a city just as they do upon a private individual, and its citizens are like children who bring decor (*honor*) to their parents. He then lists the obvious subjects of praise: buildings, city walls, and location, emphasizing their connection to both utility and beauty.

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[9] Pernot 1993, vol. 1, 178–216.

[10] *Ars Rhetorica* 275.24–276.2, ed. Usener and Rademacher 1904 = 5.5, ed. Race 2019, p. 412–414. Chapters 1–7 of this treatise are similar to the preserved works of Menander Rhetor (see below), though less refined and simplified; Malcolm Heath has suggested that the first seven chapters of the work attributed to Dionysios of Halicarnassus were written by Aelius Sarapion, a rhetorician from the early second century CE (see Heath 2003).

[11] The authorship of Hermogenes himself, the well-known sophist and theorist of rhetoric who lived around 160/161–230 CE, is widely rejected; see *PGRS*, no. 481. It is worth noting here that in the *Progymnasmata* of Theon of Alexandria, there is no separate chapter dedicated to the praise of cities (on Theon, see *PGRS*, no. 1033; the dating of this rhetor remains uncertain, ranging between the first and fifth centuries CE). In the section on encomia, Theon discusses the praise of the living, the dead, and speeches in honor of the gods (9.109.19–26, ed. Patillon 1997, p. 74); he also mentions the praise of objects, such as honey, health, and virtue (9.112.16–19, ed. Patillon 1997, p. 78).

[12] *Progymnasmata* 7, ed. Spengel 1854, vol. 2, p. 13.32–14.6; English translation in: *Progymnasmata*, transl. G. Kennedy, Atlanta 2003, 83.

[13] See Lana 1951; Henderson 1991.

[14] Quin. *Inst. Or.* 3.7.26–27. The *Institutio Oratoria* was written in the 80s or 90s CE, see van der Poel 2021, 17–18.

[15] On the concept of the Athenian autochthony, see, e.g., Rosivach 1987.

The most detailed guidelines on how to present the praise of a city can be found in the so-called *Treatise I* by Menander Rhetor (late third century CE).[16] The encomium of a city, in addition to describing the city's location, climate, buildings, political system, and achievements, should include the city's origin (γένος). In this part of the speech, the rhetor should consider the "founders (οἰκιστάς), settlers (οἰκήσαντας), date (χρόνον), changes (μεταβολάς), and causes of foundation (αἰτίας ἀφ᾽ ὧν αἱ πόλεις οἰκοῦνται)."[17] The orator should clarify whether the founder established the city out of grief or joy, and what objective he pursued with this act, whether it was justice, glory, utility, or necessity.

Each of these parts has its own subdivisions (διαρετέον), in the section dedicated to the *oikistai*, we read: „if we inquire who the founder (οἰκιστής) was, we say whether he was a god, hero, or man, and then, according to status, whether he was a general, a king, or a private individual. If a god, the encomium is the grandest (μέγιστον τὸ ἐγκώμιον): this is indeed related of some cities, such as Hermopolis, Heliopolis, and the like. If a demigod or hero who subsequently became a god, the encomium is less grand, but still reputable: this is the case with Heraclea and the cities founded by Sarpedon, Minos, or other heroes. If a man, it is reputable enough if he was a general or a king, but there is no repute or distinction if he was a private citizen."[18] Furthermore, Menander divides settlers into Hellenes and barbarians, and notes that among the Hellenes, the Aeolians are the strongest, the Dorians the most courageous, while the Ionians are the most distinguished. Naturally, a city's antiquity and Greek origins conferred extraordinary prestige upon it.

The rhetorical literary production of the early imperial period includes numerous speeches praising cities, a lasting rhetorical genre that persisted even beyond late antiquity. The preserved speeches of Dio of Prusa, Aelius Aristides, Favorinus (and from later centuries, Libanios and Himerios) demonstrate the vitality of the genre and the various methods by which each orator applied rhetorical theory in practice. Of course, only a mediocre rhetor or sophist would follow the points in the textbooks blindly. However, the preserved city encomia reveal that sophists consistently emphasized the city's ancient foundations, topography, buildings, natural features, political institutions, and principal cults.

It is noteworthy that sophists sometimes selected from among different versions of a city's founding myths. A good example of this is Aelius Aristides in his speech praising Kyzikos.[19] Around September 166 CE,[20] Aristides traveled to Kyzikos to participate in the Olympia Hadrianeia games and the dedication of the Temple of Zeus. The games had been established by Hadrian during his visit to the city in 124 CE, and the temple, which had been destroyed during an earthquake, was rebuilt with funds donated by the

[16] On Menander Rhetor, see Heath 2004; for the praise of cities in Menander Rhetor, see *Treatise I*, 346.26–367.8, ed. Russell – Wilson 1981, 32–74; in *Treatise II*, which is most likely not authored by Menander Rhetor, the praise of cities is treated much more briefly, see *Treatise II* 382.10–385.7 (the arrival speech addressed to the city); 387.30–388.15; 426.7–427.10, and 428.30–430.5 (on the occasion of a visit to the city); 387.30–388.15; 426.7–427.10 and 428.30–430.5 (ed. Russell – Wilson 1981, on pp. 104–107; 112–114; 184–186; 190–192).

[17] *Treatise I*, 353.5–9, ed. Russell – Wilson 1981, 47.

[18] *Treatise I*, 353.9–19, ed. Russell – Wilson 1981, 47.

[19] Aelius Aristides can be called a true master of encomia, including city encomia. See *Oration* 53, an unfinished praise of a spring; or. 39, praise of a well in the sanctuary of Asclepios in Pergamum; city encomia: or. 1, *Panathenaic Oration*; *or*. 21 (Smyrna); or. 26 (Rome, a great speech delivered in Rome in 143 CE before the Emperor); *or*. 27 (Kyzikos).

[20] Behr 1968, 101–102.

emperor on that same occasion.[21] During the emperor's visit, the city was granted the title of neokoros, and the Temple of Zeus began to serve as a temple for the imperial cult.

In the panegyric in honor of Kyzikos, Aristides emphasizes that the city was founded by Apollo himself, who is the interpreter (ἐξήγητης) of oracles for other cities but the founder (ἀρχηγέτης) of Kyzikos (*or*. 27.5–6, ed. Keil 1898, p. 126, *ll*. 1–18). Apollo founded many cities by sending out *oikistai*, but in the case of Kyzikos, he did not act through intermediaries; he himself became the *oikistes*: „I think that even the Hyperboreans by this time have heard of the oracle which pertains to Kyzikos and of witness of the city's felicity, who is and interpreter of oracles for the other cities, but also a founder for this city. For he founded the other cities through the founders who he dispatched everywhere. But he himself was the direct founder of the city" (trans. Behr 1981, 98). In the following section, there is a description of the coastal location of Kyzikos and the beauty of its public buildings:

> But the situation of this city is more glorious. For it has not occupied the midst of a single sea. But it can be said that it not only possesses a great sea, but also a manifold sea, to the north above a sort of spring and origin for every navigable sea, and again to the west the longest and most charming strait. And this third sea between both these in nature and position has, one might say, completed its full complement. (9) Such is its situation on the sea. Again that on land is consistent and in keeping with this. For the whole region is great, vast, of such size that one would think that it should be called a continent. It has many natures, far different from one another, and all inclining to what is best. For here the mountains are more cultivated than the plains of other people, and the plains are sufficient not only for a city, but for nations, and the rivers, lakes, and glades are in a way that things that would rejoice the blessed. […]
>
> (11) Indeed, you would call the city itself an island, a peninsula, or whatever term there is between peninsula and continent. Because it is not easily crossed at the neck and it does not start from a narrow point, but extends along the continent for a great distance and is joined to it at both causeways,18 it has surpassed the example of Tyre and whatever other city or island is nearly part of a continent. (12) Indeed, Thucydides praises Sicily because it is at least twenty stades distant from the continent. But this city is so far from the continent that it is possible even to forget that it is not an island; and that if someone should remove the embankments and the bridges, one would swim to it from the continent. So both the whole island and the city are no less distinguished in their nature than the greatest islands, Crete and Sicily. (13) As to the beauty of the public buildings and all of the construction in and greatness of the city, no one is so unskilled in speech, so that he would be unable to praise these, nor so competent a speaker, so that he would easily describe them. I shall omit all the rest and shall select the edifice which I ought most particularly to mention. (trans. Behr 1981, 99–100)

The great sophist does not allow the listener/reader to forget the city's divine origin: the beauty of the *polis* and the magnificence of its public buildings precisely indicate that its founder was a god (*or*. 27.14, ed. Keil 1898, *ll*. 13–14: δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι κάλλιστα δὴ τοῦτο σύμβολον δεικνύναι τὸν οἰκιστήν, καὶ ὅτι τῶν κρειττόνων τινός ἐστι ποίημα). In another passage, the sophist says that if Hesiod and Homer were still alive, they would readily transfer the story of the Trojan Wall and narrate how Poseidon and Apollo labored

[21] On the temple in Kyzikos, see Schulz – Winter 1990. For the emperor's stay in Kyzikos, see Birley 1997, 164; Boatwright 2000, 99 and n. 75.

together and accomplished this work for the city: Poseidon extracting rocks from the depths of the sea and enabling their transport, and Apollo adorning his own city, as "is fitting for a founder, wishing to adorn his own city" (*or*. 27.18, ed. Keil 1898, p. 130, *ll*. 3–9; in *l*. 8: ὥσπερ εἰκὸς οἰκιστὴν, βουληθεὶς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν κοσμῆσαι). When Aristides speaks of sacrifices offered to the gods, religious processions, and the worship of deities, he also reminds that the city is related to the Athenians (τὸ μὴν τῆι συγγενείαι χρῆσθαι, *or*. 27.14, ed. Keil 1898, p. 128, *ll*. 18–21). As a colony of Miletos, and thus of the Ionians, the people of Kyzikos were "relatives" of the Athenians. However, this is a subtle addition to the speech, serving as a reminder of the city's antiquity and its Greek identity, without in any way "threatening" the version that Apollo himself was the true founder of Kyzikos. Apollo, the mythological father of Ion, was the progenitor of the Ionians; thus, these versions are interconnected and mutually reinforcing.

In the literature of the Second Sophistic period, the terms *oikistes* and *archegetes* are frequently used to denote the founder of a polis. This terminology is also primarily employed in the aforementioned theoretical rhetorical texts.[22] Pollux, in his lexicon, also recommends using the term *oikistes* rather than *ktistes* to refer to the founder of a city.[23] Aelius Aristides uses this same terminology in his panegyric in honor of Kyzikos: he refers to the founder of the city as *oikistes*, a term linked to Greek colonization and widely used in the Classical and Hellenistic periods to denote a founder of a city "from its foundations," from nothing. The general term *ktistes*, which became more common during the Imperial period, was a relatively rare honorary title applied to Roman emperors.[24]

Let us return to the foundation of Kyzikos. The mythical origins of this polis were described by Apollonios of Rhodes in his work *Argonautica* (I 936–1153). He drew upon local sources, including the city history by Deiochos (fourth century BCE?) and the account by Neanthes (fourth-third century BCE?).[25] Kyzikos, king of the Doliones and son of Aineus and Ainete, the daughter of the king of Thrace, welcomed and hosted the Argonauts. His newly wedded wife, Kleite, daughter of Merops, served them food. After their departure, the Argonauts were forced to return at night due to strong winds. Mistaking them for the Makrones, their old enemies, the Doliones attacked them. Kyzikos was killed by Jason. The following day revealed the tragic mistake, and the Argonauts mourned the dead for three days, establishing games in honor of the slain king. Kleite hanged herself in grief, and from the tears of the mourning nymphs, a stream arose, bearing the name of the young queen. Though versions of this myth vary in some details, but Greek and Roman literature consistently relates that the hero Kyzikos was the son of Aineus.[26]

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[22] Pernot 1993, vol. 1, 209, n. 468.

[23] *Onomastikon* 9.6–25, ed. Dindorf 1907 = ed. Berthe 1998, vol. 2: οἰκιστής, οἰκίζων, πολίζων, οὐ μὴν [[καὶ]] [[πολιστὴς καὶ κτίζων]] καὶ κτίστης.

[24] Heller 2020, 176–181.

[25] *FGrHist* 471 F 7–8 and *FGrHist* 84 (on Neanthes, see Schorn 2018, 1–49; on the dating, *ibid*., 1–2). On the Kyzican episode in Apollonios' *Argonautica*, see Levin 1971, 87–109 and Williams 1997. For the mythological version of the founding of Kyzikos, see also Hasluck 1910, 158–162.

[26] Parthenios of Nicaea 28: Κυζίκου τοῦ Αἰνέως (ed. Lighfoot 1999, text on p. 354, comm. on 522–525); *Orphei Argonautika* (fourth century CE) 501, 595: Κύζικος ἥρως, 523–524: Αἰνέος ὤλεσε παῖδα / Κύζικον (ed. Abel 1985); *Fabulae* 16: in Hyginus' *Fabula* 16, the father of Kyzikos is Eusorus: *Cyzicus Eusori filius rex* (ed. Rose 1963). Ovid, *Tris.* I 10.30), Sil. Ital., *Pun.* II 39, Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* II–III, and Kedrenos, *Chron.* 70.3 and 71 (ed. Tartaglia 2016) do not provide the name of Kyzikos's father.

A somewhat different tradition is found in Konon, a mythographer of the Augustan period, who offers an interesting variant of the founding myth of the city of Kyzikos. In his *Narratives*, preserved mainly in the summary by Patriarch Photius, Kyzikos, king of the pre-Greek Pelasgians in Thessaly, was expelled along with the Pelasgians by the Aeolians. The attack on the Argonauts was not an accidental mistake but an act of hatred toward the Thessalian Argonauts: "For when Kyzikos, the son of Apollo and ruler of the Pelasgians in Thessaly, was expelled along with the Pelasgians by the Aeolians, he built a city on the Chersonese in Asia, giving it his name as well." Thus, Konon reports that Kyzikos was the son of Apollo (Κύζικος ὁ Ἀπόλλωνος). It is difficult to say whether this information was drawn, for example, from Deiochos in the original version of the myth, before the changes introduced by Apollonios of Rhodes, or whether it is a version added by Konon himself. The version that Kyzikos is the son of Apollo may appear to be a combination of two traditions: that of the hero Kyzikos and the tradition concerning the colonization of Miletus according to "the oracle of Apollo" (specifically, the one at Didyma).[27] During the Imperial period, the young Kyzikos frequently appears as the founding hero on the coinage of the city bearing his name.[28] On the so-called pseudo-autonomous coins (those without imperial busts on the obverse) minted in the second and third centuries CE, the obverse often features the diademed head of a young hero, accompanied by the inscription KYZIKOC.[29] Depictions of the hero-founder also appear on the reverses of coins from this period: typically, he is portrayed as a young man holding a spear, with a chlamys draped over his shoulder or held in his hand.[30]

However, on a small number of coin issues from the city of Kyzikos dating to the reign of Trajan (with the emperor's bust on the obverse), the reverse depicts a standing nude figure facing left, surrounded by the inscription: ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ ΚΥΖΙΚΗ(νῶν), "Apollo the founder of the Kyzikenes."[31] Even if we concede the antiquity of the cult of Apollo in Kyzikos, it does not initially appear as a founder's cult; rather, the *ktistes* element may have been an addition in the second century CE. In this context, it is important to emphasize that Aelius Aristides, who critiqued and selected various versions of myths,[32] sometimes departing from their widely accepted forms, referred in his speech in Kyzikos to a less commonly known founding story of the city. This version, though less widespread, was original and decidedly more rhetorically prestigious: that Kyzikos was founded by the god Apollo himself. Thus, Aelius Aristides did not invent this account; rather, when

[27] See scholia ad v. I 955, ed. Lachenaud 2010 (= ed. Wandel 1958): Μιλήσιοι δὲ ἐνοικήσαντες κατὰ χρησμὸν Ἀπόλλωνος.

[28] Roman provincial coins are attested in Kyzikos from the time of Augustus to Claudius II; the fundamental study of the coins from Kyzikos remains von Fritze 1917.

[29] von Fritze 1917, 25–26 ("Gruppe V"); *BMC Mysia* (1892), no. 198–199, 203–208; *SNG Copenhagen* (1944), no. 87–97; *RPC* VII.1, pp. 107–112; *RPC* X (only online), no. 72769; 873641; 62019, 84290 and many others.

[30] E.g., *BMC Mysia* (1892), no. 217 (under Antoninus Pius, youthful male figure, standing left, on left arm, chlamys); no. 290, "homonoia" typus from Ephesos, under Antoninus Pius: two youthful male figures Kyzikos and Ephesos grasping right hands; Kyzikos stands looking left, chlamys and spear in left hand; *SNG Copenhagen* (1944), no. 103, under Trajan: young youth holding spear, standing left, KYZIKOS; *RPC* X (only online), no. 3072: hero Kyzikos standing, chlamys over shoulder, holding spear..

[31] *RPC* III, no. 1493A and B (rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/browse?q=Ἀπόλλων+Κτίστης).

[32] For myths in Aelius Aristides, see Pernot 1993, vol. 2, 762–772; Saïd 2008.

appearing publicly in a guest performance in Kyzikos, as an outsider, he chose a less well-known version of the myth that was more ennobling for the city.

Let us now examine how other rhetors and sophists described the origins of their native cities. Consider an honorific inscription discovered in Corinth, engraved on the base of a statue found in the Corinthian agora. The text on the base is as follows:

Πεδουκαῖον
Κεστιανὸν
[Ἀ]πολλωνιάτην
ῥήτορα,
Κόρινθος
ἡ μητρόπολις
Ψ(ηφίσματι) Β(ουλῆς)[33]

Korinthos the *metropolis* (honored) Pedukaios Kestianos, the Apollonian rhetor. By vote of the city council.

Not far from the location where this base was unearthed, a statue—although lacking a head and legs—was found holding a scroll in its left hand. This statue was most likely a representation of the orator himself.[34]

An individual named Pedukaios Kestianos, identified as a rhetor in inscriptions, is also attested in epigraphic and numismatic evidence from Apollonia in Illyria.[35] He held a position within the civic elite and served as an eponymous official in his hometown; his name appears on two coins as the city's prytanis. Kestianos's activities can be dated to the second half of the second century CE, as his name also appears in line 4 of a fragmentarily preserved inscription from Apollonia (τῶι πατρὶ Κεστιαν/[ῶι]), while line 3 preserves the name of Emperor Marcus Aurelius.[36] Louis Robert demonstrated that the text concerns the establishment of a lifelong eponymous prytany, with Kestianos and his son (or possibly sons?) as the petitioners.[37]

Apollonia in Illyria was likely a joint foundation of Corcyra and Corinth around 600 BCE.[38] Since Thucydides had already dismissed Corcyra from the founding legend of Apollonia, it is certain that the rhetor Kestianos did not mention it either.[39] According to the account of Stephanos of Byzantium, two hundred colonists from Corinth, led by Gylax, arrived at Apollonia. Gylax originally named the city Gylakeia (διακοσίων ἀποικία εἰς αὐτὴν ἐστάλη, ἧς ἡγεῖτο Γύλαξ, ὃς Γυλάκειαν ὠνόμασε). Stephanos repeats the same information in the entry "Gylakeia" of his lexicon, stating that it is another name for Apollonia in Illyria, deriving from Gylax of Corinth (ἀπὸ Γύλακος Κορινθίου).

However, Apollo himself could be regarded as the founder of Apollonia. Pausanias observed in Olympia a dedication which read:

[33] *Corinth* VIII 3, no. 269; Puech 2002, no. 57.

[34] Bonner 1933, pl. LXIV.

[35] *PGRS*, no. 571.

[36] Puech 2002, no. 58.

[37] Robert 1966, 750–751.

[38] For the colonization of Apollonia in Illyria, see Graham 1964, 130–132; Malkin 1987, 86–88; *IACP*, no. 77.

[39] For mixed colony, see Strabo 7.5.8 (316). and Ps. Scymn. 439; Tucid. 1.26.2, Paus. 5.2.4., and Stephanos of Byzantion s.v. mention only Corinth as the metropolis of Apollonia in Illyria.

> Μνάματ᾽Ἀπολλωνίας ἀνακείμεθα, τὰν ἐνὶ πόντωι
> Ἰονίωι Φοῖβος ὤικισε ἀκερσεκόμας.[40]
>
> We are laid as memorials of Apollonia, which in the Ionian Sea Phoibos of the unshorn hair founded.

Apollonia in Illyria erected a splendid monument at Olympia to commemorate its victory over the city of Thronion in Abantis (fifth century BCE), which was seen by Pausanias. The base bears the inscription:

> μνάματ᾽ Ἀπολλονίας ἀ[νακείμεθα τὰν ἐνὶ πόντοι]
> [Ἰ]ονίοι Φοῖβος ϝοί[κισ᾽ ἀκερσεκόμας],
> [οἱ γ]ᾶ[ς τέ]ρμᾰθ᾽ [ἑλόντες Ἀβαντίδος ἐνθάδε ταῦτα]
> [ἔστασαν σὺν θεοῖς ἐκ Θρονίο δεκάταν].[41]
>
> We [are laid] as memorials of Apollonia, which in the Ionian Sea Phoibos of the unshorn hair founded, after having seized the boundaries of the land of Abantis, they set it up here with the help of the gods, a tithe from Thronion.

I believe that, similar to Aelius Aristides in his speech praising Kyzikos, also Kestianos, in his address delivered in Corinth, included both the divine origin of his homeland (perhaps explaining the city's original name change) and the non-mythological version, which emphasized Corinth's role in its colonization. By underscoring Corinth's status as the mother city, the *metropolis*, these speeches bestowed significant prestige upon Apollonia and contributed to establishing a distinct Greek identity for the colony in the second century CE, which was highly valued after the establishment of the Panhellenion.

The earliest history of his city was also studied by the sophist Publius Anteius Antiochos (born ca. 120 CE, died in the 90s of the second century CE).[42] He is known both from Philostratos's account in the *Lives of the Sophists* (*VS* 568–570) and from epigraphic material. He came from a distinguished family in Aigeai in Cilicia but did not participate in the city's political life or hold any public offices. Instead, he was renowned as a great benefactor: he purchased grain with his own funds and oversaw building renovations. He spent many nights in the local temple of Asclepios, healing himself and undergoing incubation because he wished to converse with the deity and with other people who had spent the night in the Asklepieion. Philostratos writes extensively about his rhetorical skill, noting that he gained great fame in declamation. Among specific examples of Antiochos' speeches, Philostratos mentions one with mythological content, in which Antiochos argued on behalf of the Cretans that the tomb of Zeus was located on their island. Philostratos emphasizes that Antiochos masterfully employed arguments drawn from natural philosophy and his knowledge of the gods (φυσιολογίαι τε καὶ θεολογίαι). The sophist was also the author of two historical books: *History* (ἡ ἱστορία) and *On the Fatherland* (Περὶ τῆς πατρίδος).[43] The sophist Phrynichos Arab, active in the second half of the second century, mentions in his *Ecloga* 170 (ed. Fischer 1974) that the sophist Antiochos

[40] Paus. 5.22.3–4.
[41] *I.Apollonia* 303.
[42] *PIR*2 I 730; *PGRS*, no. 78.
[43] *FGrHist* 747.

wrote a book titled *Agora*. Identifying its author as Antiochos of Aigeai is highly tempting and quite plausible.

A letter sent to Aigeai, preserved on a stele found in Argos, renewed the old ties between the two cities (Argos and Aigeai) thanks to the efforts of P. Anteius Antiochos.[44] The sophist came to Argos and made significant efforts to re-establish the legal relations between the cities and to erect a stele in the temple of Apollo Lykeios (*ll*. 7–10: γένομενος ἐν τᾶι πόλι ἀμῶν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποι|ήσατο ἀνανε]ώσασθαι τὰ τᾶς ὑμετέρας πόλιος δίκαια πρὸς τὰν ἀμε|[τέραν καὶ ἐγ]γράψας στάλαι θεῖναι ἐν τῶι τοῦ Λυκείου Ἀπολλωνος ἰε|ρῶι). The city agreed to the erection of the stele, appointed the sophist as a member of the council (*bouleutes*), and granted him other honors. A copy of the decree from Argos (the one inscribed on the stele set up in the temple of Apollo) was also included (*ll*. 17–25):

> [Ἐπειδὴ Πόπλιο]ς Ἄντειος Ἀντίοχος ἐπιδαμήσας ἀμῶν τᾶι πόλι κοσ|[μίως καὶ φιλο]φρόνως, ἔν τε τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπεδείξατο τὰν ἰδίαν κα|[λοκαγαθίαν κ]αὶ τὰν ἐν παιδείαι τελειότατα, οὐκ ἥκιστα δὲ ἐν τᾶι | [περὶ τὰν πατρί]δα σπουδᾶι τε καὶ διαθέσει, φανερὰν ἀμῖν ποιήσας | [τὰν ἀπ᾽αἰῶνος ὑπ]άρχουσαν ποτ᾽Αἰγεαίους ἀμῶν συγγένηαν. Πε|[ρσέα γὰρ ἔφη τὸ]ν Δανάας ἐπὶ τὰς Γοργόνας στελλόμενον ἐς | [τὰν Πεδιάδα ἀφικ]έσθαι Κιλικίαν, ἅτις ἐστὶν τέρμα τᾶς πρὸς | [ca. 13]κάκεῖ τὸ τᾶς πατρίου κομίζοντα ἀφεί|[δρυμα] [----]
>
> [Since] Publius Anteius Antiochos, residing among us, conducted himself virtuously and benevolently towards the city, demonstrating in other respects his personal excellence and perfection of his education, but especially in his zeal and commitment to matters concerning his homeland, he made evident to us the ancient kinship we share with the inhabitants of Aigeai. For he related that Perseus, son of Danae, on his expedition against the Gorgons, arrived to the Cilician Plain?, which marks the boundary of our [region?], carrying the statuette of the ancestral [----].

The remainder of the text is not preserved, but it undoubtedly detailed the mythological connections between the two cities. Thus, Antiochos certainly traveled to Argos at his own expense (the inscription indicates that he visited the city more than once) and conducted mythological research, likely delivering public speeches to promote the results of his studies. Perseus was an ideal candidate as the hero linking Argos and Aigeai: like Dionysos and Herakles, he traveled extensively during his expedition against the Gorgons, and his cult was widespread throughout Cilicia.[45] The head of Perseus, with his characteristic sickle, the harpa (ἅρπη), on his shoulder, appears on Roman provincial coins from Aigeai as early as the first century,[46] and it is also visible in the coinage from the period of Hadrian.[47] This indicates that Perseus was certainly a figure of worship in Aigeai prior to Antiochos's research.

But what did Antiochos establish during his stay in Argos? The two cities were connected by an *aphidryma* (ἀφίδρυμα) which Perseus was said to have brought (κομίζειν) to Aigeai. It was certainly not the statue of Apollo Lykeios, which Perseus was supposed to have left in Tarsus, but perhaps it was a statue of a goddess, probably Athena?[48] It is

[44] Robert 1977, 120–129 (text of the inscription on pp. 120–121); Curty 1995, no. 5; Chaniotis 1988, E 28.

[45] See Dąbrowa, The Argives in Cilicia, *FS Ponchia* (in print); on Perseus in Aigeai, see Haymann 2014, 186–192.

[46] *RPC* II, no. 1770 (pseudo-autonomous, on obverse, bust of Athena).

[47] *RPC* III, no. 3334 (on reverse, draped bust of Perseus, right, with harpa over shoulder).

[48] See Robert 1977, 126–127.

unknown whether Antiochos's research is related to the establishment of the Panhellenion and Aigeai's ambitions to join this league of Greek cities, or whether the sophist's activities stem from the rivalry of his homeland with Tarsus, which Dio Chrysostom frequently mentions (claiming Argive heritage became a central legitimization strategy for the cities of eastern Cilicia).[49] The sophist certainly demonstrated the antiquity of his native city, its Greek identity, and noble origin (*eugeneia*). Antiochos's research undoubtedly contributed to his published works *On the Fatherland* and *History*.

It is also worth noting a coin from Aigeai minted during the reign of Philip the Arab in 245/6 CE. On the reverse, there is a nude figure of Perseus, who holds a shield in his right hand and the head of the Gorgon in his left.[50] The inscription contains the city's titulature: ΕΥ(γενὴς) ΠΙ(στὴ) ΘΕ(οφίλη) ΜΑ(κεδονικὴ)[51] ΑΙΓΕΩΝ ΝΕ(ωκόρων) ΒϘC ("the noble, faithful, god-loving, Macedonian [city] of the neocorate Aigeans, [year] 292").[52] The figure brings to mind depictions of hero-founders in municipal coinage; perhaps Perseus had become ingrained in the collective memory as one of the city's founders.

So far, I have demonstrated various strategies employed by rhetors and sophists in describing the founding of cities: selecting a particular tradition, referencing Greek colonization, or inventing mythical origins. I will mention one more example, which emphasizes a city's antiquity by referring to its pre-Greek history.

Metrophanes of Eukarpia, active in the third century in central Phrygia, is identified as a sophist in the Liber Suda (μ 1009: Μητροφάνης, Εὐκαρπίας τῆς Φρυγίας, σοφιστής). The Liber Suda also states that Metrophanes was the author of numerous rhetorical works (*On Types of Styles*, *On Issues*, *A Commentary on Hermogenes' Art*, and *A Commentary on Aristides*). The sophist also wrote a local history of his native Phrygia in two books titled *On Phrygia* (Περὶ τῆς Φρυγίας βιβλία β΄).[53] Stephanos of Byzantion, in his *Ethnika* (s.v. Εὐκαρπία), cites a fragment of this work:

> ἱστορεῖ Μητροφάνης, τὸν βότρυν ἐκεῖ τοσοῦτον γίνεσθαι τὸ μέγεθος ὅσον ἅμαξαν ἀπ᾽αὐτοῦ σχισθῆναι κατὰ μέσης. Καὶ οὕτως ἐκλήθη διὰ τὸ εὔφορον. Περὶ αὐτῆς γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἔλεγον, ὅτι Δήμητρι καὶ Διονύσωι Ζεὺς τὴν χώραν τὴν τῶν Εὐκαρπ<έ>ων δοίη.
>
> Metrophanes says that the grapes there are so large that they can break a wagon in half. Eukarpia was named due to its fertility. The barbarians say that Zeus gave the land of the Eukarpeians to Demeter and Dionysos.

Metrophanes provided an interesting etymology for the name of his native city (Eukarpia – "bearing good fruit"), emphasizing the fertility of the land. It does not appear that this idea originated with him. On coins minted in Eukarpia during the Imperial period, the citys

[49] Dio Chrysostomos, *or*. 33.51, 34.10, 34.14, 34.47–48.

[50] *RPC* VIII (only online), no. 21724 (rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/type/21724); see also Haymann 2014, 192, the table showing the distribution of Perseus on the coins of Aigeai, which highlights the popularity of Perseus in the third century CE.

[51] Aigeai was a Hellenistic royal foundation, see, e.g., Haymann 2014, 16–26; on the memory of Macedonian foundations of cities in the Roman East, see Spawforth 2006.

[52] Aigeai received the title of *neokoros* during the reign of Alexander Severus, see Burrell 2004, 230–230.

[53] *FGrHist* 796 F1; Janiszewski 2006, 247–252; *PGRS*, no. 705.

Tyche is depicted holding ears of corn or a cornucopia—symbols of wealth and fertility.[54] The relatively modestly preserved numismatics of Eukarpia also indicate that the cult of the goddess Demeter, the huntress, was the leading cult of the polis.[55] Metrophanes thus drew upon the well-established pool of ideas in Eukarpia regarding the etymology of the city's name. His addition, however, may have been the story of the wagons breaking under the weight of the grapes. Likewise, the reference to the city's pre-Greek history was likely the sophist's own invention: "The barbarians say that Zeus gave the land of the Eukarpeians to Demeter and Dionysos." As Paweł Janiszewski rightly points out (albeit without referencing numismatic material), Metrophanes emphasized the city's ancient origins in this way.[56] Let us recall that the anonymous author of the *Progymnasmata* attributed to Hermogenes instructed rhetors praising a city to claim that "its people are autochthonous" (see above). Thus, I believe Metrophanes borrowed this idea from established rhetorical conventions. In a similar vein, Hieron of Tlos, an intellectual (possibly a rhetor?) with a strong interest in the local history of Lycia, divine epiphanies, and mythical genealogies, engaged in similar pursuits. A surviving inscription from Sidyma contains a letter from the officials of Tlos to Sidyma, which includes Hieron's discourse on harmony among the Lycian cities.[57] Deeply immersed in mythical tales, Hieron asserts that unity and concord between Sidyma and Tlos have endured ever since they were created by the gods and their indigenous founders (D a, *ll*. 7–9: τ<ῆ>ς δὲ οὐ ἀπὸ θεῶν | καὶ κτιστῶν αὐτοχθόνων οὔσης | ἀπ᾽ἀρχῆς ἡμεὶν πρὸς Σιδυμεῖς).

[54] See *RPC* III, no. 2587 = rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/2587 (under Hadrian, Tyche holding ears of corn in her right extended hand, left resting on scepter); *RPC* III, no. 2591= rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/2591 (under Hadrian, Tyche standing left, holding rudder in her right hand and cornucopia in left); *RPC* IV.2 (only online), no. 4135 = rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/4/4135 (under Antoninus Pius, Tyche seated, holding ears of corn and long scepter); *RPC* IV.2 (only online), no. 1982 = rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/4/1982 (under Antoninus Pius, Tyche standing, holding rudder and cornucopia); *RPC* VI (only online), no. 5602 = rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/6/5602 (under Maximinus, Tyche seated, holding long sceptre and ears of corn); *RPC* VI (only online), no. 1561 = rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/6/5601 (under Maximinus, Tyche seated, holding long sceptre and ears of corn); *RPC* VI, no. 1609 = rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/6/5609 (under Maximinus Thrax, Tyche standing facing, holding rudder and cornucopia); *RPC* VII.1, no. 719 = rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/7.1/719 (under Gordianus III, Tyche seated, holding ears of corn and scepter).

[55] Janiszewski 2006, 252; for Demeter and Dionysos on coins of Eukarpia, see *RPC* III, no. 2588 = rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/2588 and *RPC* III, no. 2590 = rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/2590 (under Hadrian, Artemis in long chiton and peplos standing facing, drawing arrow from quiver at her shoulder, holding bow in her left); *RPC* IV.2 (only online), no. 1983 = rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/4/1983 (under Antoninus Piou, Artemis standing, facing, drawing arrow from quiver at shoulder, holding bow; to left, stag standing); *RPC* VI (only online), nos. 5603 and 5604 = nrpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/6/5603 and rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/6/5604 (under Maximinus Thrax, Artemis standing facing, holding bow and placing hand on quiver; behind, stag); *RPC* VII.1, no. 720 A = rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/7.1/720A (under Gordianus III, Tyche of Eukarpia and Tyche of Eumenea standing facing each other, Tyche of Eukarpia holding figure of Artemis huntress); *RPC* IX, no. 809 = rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/9/809 (under Trebonionus Gallus, Artemis standing right, drawing arrow from quiver at shoulder, holding bow); *RPC* VII.1, no. 720 = rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/7.1/720 (under Gordianus, Tyche standing left, holding rudder and cornucopia); *RPC* IX, no. 807 = rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/9/807 (under Trebonianus Gallus, Eucarpia seated left, holding ears of corn and long scepter). Dionysos is depicted on the obverse of a pseudo-autonomous coin *RPC* IV.2 (only online), no. 1984 = rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/4/1984 (ca. mid-second century CE.): draped bust of Dionysos (youthful) wearing ivy wreath,

[56] Janiszewski 2006, 252.

[57] *TAM* II 1, no. 174; Merkelbach 2000. On Hieron, see Jones 1999, 114–115 (and Appendix 2); Chaniotis 2019, 43–45.

It is evident that rhetors and sophists worked to promote their native cities, often serving propagandistic purposes. They employed various methods to present their research on the origins of *poleis*, including delivering epideictic speeches during performances held in different cities and at festivals:[58] some also wrote local histories. Regrettably, we will never fully understand how audiences received the founding narratives of cities as crafted and publicly presented—whether through written works or performances—by rhetors and sophists of the early Imperial period. These intellectuals held prestigious positions in cities of the eastern provinces, belonging to the intellectual elite of their time, and also ran schools that educated the local elite. I believe that their activity as speakers delivering city encomia significantly shaped the *sphère imaginaire* of a *polis* concerning its earliest past.

Abbreviations

BMC – *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum.*
Corinth VIII.3 – J. H. Kent, *Corinth*, vol. VIII, pt. 3: *The Inscriptions 1926–1950*, Princeton 1966.
IACP – M. H. Hansen, Th. N. Nielsen (eds.), *An Inventary of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, Oxford 2004.
I.Aph – Inscriptions of Aphrodisias 2007 [https://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/insaph/iaph2007/].
I.Apollonia – P. Cabanes, N. Ceka, *Corpus des inscription grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire*, vol. 2: *Inscriptions d'Apollonia d'Illyrie*, Athens 1997.
Labraunda III – J. Crampa, *The Greek Inscriptions*, Lund 1969.
PGRS – P. Janiszewski, K. Stebnicka, E. Szabat, *Prosopography of Greek Rhetors and Sophists of the Roman Empire*, Oxford 2015.
RPC – *Roman Provincial Coinage* [https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/].
SNG Copenhagen – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The Royal Collection of coins and medals, Danish National Museum*.
TAM II 1 – *Tituli Asiae Minoris* II 1: *Pars Lyciae occidentalis cum Xantho oppido*, ed. E. Kalinka, Vienna 1920.

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[58] In *PGRS*, we compiled the names of approximately 1.100 rhetors and sophists, with around 500 of them active during the first three centuries CE. The most famous orators, the superstars of their time, did not travel to the *agones*.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 337–344
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.023.21413
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Geopolitics in the Ancient World?

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Franca Landucci, Giuseppe Zecchini (eds.), *Geopolitica del mondo antico. Caratteri politico-militari del Mediterraneo dal II millenio a.C. al VI secolo d.C.*, Carocci Editore, Roma 2023, 266 pp.; ISBN 978-8829018499

In recent years, the terms "geopolitics" and "geopolitical" (as well as more precise terms derived from them, e.g., "geostrategical" or "geoeconomical") have gained popularity in both public and scholarly debates. This renewed interest in the global perspective, with particular attention to geographical factors, can also be observed in the field of Classical Studies. The recently published volume *Geopolitica del mondo antico. Caratteri politico-militari del Mediterraneo dal II millenio a.C. al VI secolo d.C.* offers a good opportunity to consider the usefulness of geopolitics for our field and the potential research perspectives it opens up.

The volume edited by Franca Landucci and Giuseppe Zecchini attempts to give a geopolitical overview of the "political-military characteristics" of the Mediterranean world over a span of approximately 2500 years. This ambitious task is achieved through contributions from some of the foremost Italian scholars: beside the editors, Franca Landucci and Giuseppe Zecchini, the list of authors includes Cinzia Bearzot, Giovanni Brizzi, and Federico Giusfredi. The concept behind this publication has clearly been carefully thought out, and the individual chapters follow a similar approach, together providing readers with a comprehensive picture of the political history of the ancient world.

Surprisingly, the volume offers only a modest one-page introduction (F. Landucci, G. Zecchini, Premessa, pp. 11–12), which does not explore the central theme which binds the contributions together. This omission leaves the reader somewhat in the dark as to how the authors define and understand "geopolitics." The answer to this question, however, is neither trivial nor inconsequential. "Geopolitics" emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as a method of analysis of foreign policy, aiming to explain and predict international political behaviour in terms of geographical

variables.[1] Forged by writers such as Alfred Mahan and Halford Mackinder, it later became a useful tool used by totalitarian regimes to justify their expansionist policies by claiming they were acting in accordance with their "geopolitical interests." The classical geopolitical approach has been duly criticised, especially for its excessive reliance on determinist explanations.

Recently the term has been used in public debates as a synonym for "global politics" or even "international relations." However, the recent interest in geopolitics has fomented a variety of scholarly approaches, such as "popular geopolitics" or "critical geopolitics."[2] Given this complicated and ongoing discussion, the lack of a clear definition of this key term in the volume under review is somewhat surprising.

A brief glance at the table of contents shows that the editors and authors decided to provide readers with an overview of the subject spanning ancient history, from the rise of the Akkadian empire of Sargon the Great to the time of the Arab conquests. All the individual chapters, aside from the first one, focus on different periods and different regions.

The first chapter, authored by Franca Landucci, takes a different approach from the rest of the contributions. Instead of focusing on the political landscape of a particular period, it gives an overview of the concept of translatio imperii as used by the Greek and Roman authors in antiquity. F. Landucci devotes the bulk of her contribution (La translatio Imperii, pp. 13–24) to showing how this concept evolved, how it was used to interpret the historical events, and how it shaped the narratives of ancient historians. Her analysis is supported by ample examples and references to both Greek and Latin sources from various periods. Overall, the chapter provides an excellent introduction to this complex phenomenon.

The chapters following this initial problem-focused contribution certainly offer a comprehensive overview of ancient political history, but arguably do not examine the strategies of the political actors in depth. In fact, discussions of the strategies and decision-making processes, let alone the impact of geographical factors on them, are rarely the point of interest.

F. Giusfredi, for instance, in his brief overview of the history of the Near East from the predynastic period to the Persian conquest of Babylon (Il Vicino Oriente antico, pp. 29–50), focuses more on institutional changes than particular strategies. Even when discussing the transition between the Bronze and Iron Ages, he chooses to focus on the emergence of states and empires rather than on the effects of the collapse of the well-developed trade networks that distributed tin and copper throughout the Near East.

With the two subsequent chapters by C. Bearzot, we move firmly to the Greek world in the Archaic and Classical periods (Orizzonti geopolitici tra Egeo e Mediterraneo occidentale dall'VIII al VI secolo a.C., pp. 51–70; Orizzonti geopolitici tra Egeo e Mediterraneo occidentale dal V al IV secolo a.C., pp. 71–92). In the first chapter, after discussing the Minoan and Mycenaean periods as well as briefly discussing Greek colonization, Bearzot identifies two main axes of the political developments in the Archaic period: Tyrrhenian and Balkan. However, the role of these axes is not entirely clear. While the Balkan axis

[1] Evans 1998, 197–198.

[2] For a brief glimpse of the complexities of the discussion, see the introduction to the volume *Popular Geopolitics. Plotting an Evolving Interdiscipline* (Saunders – Strukov 2018, 1–20) which attempts to define popular geopolitics from an interdisciplinary perspective.

connects two Greek states—Sparta and Thessaly—which achieved some kind of regional hegemony in the Archaic period, the Tyrrhenian axis lacks similar points of reference. Furthermore, there appears to be a significant imbalance in the discussion of these axes, since the latter is discussed in a single paragraph (p. 63) while the former takes up significantly more space (pp. 64–67). The final part of the chapter provides a general overview of the historical and geographical regions of mainland Greece, the Greek cities in Asia Minor, and the islands of the Aegean Sea (pp. 64–70).

For the Classical period we have much more information, and, more importantly, our sources start to indicate strategic—if not outright geopolitical—reasoning on the part of the actors. Thucydides, avid political observer, influences our thinking the most. In fact, the term "Thucydides' trap" has been recently used in political sciences to describe the dynamic between a hegemon and a rising power challenging that hegemony, based on the model provided by the Spartans and the Athenians. Bearzot incorporates such geopolitical themes into her highly distilled account of the *pentecontaetia* and the Peloponnesian War (pp. 71–80), but does not seem to move beyond the safe confines of Thucydides' observations, sometimes embellishing them (unnecessarily) with geopolitical terminology.[3] She does, however, extend the same categories of political polarization and the search for a stable equilibrium into the 4th century, offering an interesting discussion on the twofold nature of hegemony in the Greek world (hegemony on land and sea) and the relation between these two spheres (pp. 81–82).

In the rise of the Dionysius I in Syracuse Bearzot identifies the birth of yet another geopolitical axis: one joining Greece and Italy (p. 89). While the growing power of Syracuse profoundly impacted the Western Greeks, its connection to the homeland remained limited. Dionysius maintained good relations with Sparta and strove to find a *modus vivendi* with Athens, but the actual political interventions between the Greek powers of the Western and Eastern Mediterranean were still relatively few and far between, and some of them, like the support extended to Alcetas, the king of the Molossians, had more to do with Dionysius' Adriatic projects than with the relations with the Greece (as Bearzot rightly points out herself, p. 90). Therefore, in my opinion, the scale of the contacts does not justify identifying a new geopolitical axis.

In the next chapter G. Brizzi discusses Carthaginian history, strategy, and (geo)politics (Cartagine tra gli equilibri geopolitici del Mediterraneo, pp. 93–112). This contribution stands out from the rest thanks to the attention devoted precisely to questions of geography and grand strategy. Brizzi starts his chapter by explaining the origins of Carthage, focusing on its importance for Phoenician trade between the Eastern and Western Mediterranean. His brief outline includes not just the political landscape but also practical geographical factors, such as sea currents, trade routes and tradable resources to which the Phoenician homeland (and later Carthage itself) had access (pp. 93–95).

Brizzi does not merely report on Carthaginian political and military activities at the dawn of "Carthaginian imperialism," but attempts to identify why particular areas, such as Sardinia and Sicily, were important for the Carthaginians, once again drawing attention to the geography, both in terms of position and resources (pp. 99–101). As a result,

[3] See e.g., p. 75: "Il bipolarismo tra asse balcanico continentale e asse egeo-orientale conobbe diversi momenti di crisi," which boils down to the increasing tensions between the Peloponnesian League led by Sparta and the growing Athenian Empire.

Brizzi accepts and openly reaffirms the view that it was the economy that drove Carthage's political and military actions (p. 102). The two crucial themes of Carthaginian imperialism—the nature of the Sicilian *epikrateia* and the treaties with Rome—are discussed in a clear and concise manner.[4] Finally, the chapter discusses the first stage of the disastrous conflict with Rome, the first Punic War (pp. 108–111), but only briefly mentions the final conflicts and the Barcid Spanish strategy.

The final contribution focused on Greek history is Franca Landucci's chapter on the globalization of the Hellenistic world (pp. 139–156). Landucci devotes the first two sections of her contribution to setting the stage, exploring first the Greek view of the world in the Classical period, and then the rise of Macedon under Philip II and Alexander the Great. In the latter section, she underlines the importance and impact of the administrative model established by Darius I in the Persian Empire (pp. 145–146) and the transition of the "geopolitical axis." According to Landucci, this axis initially ran through Persis in the times of the Achaemenid Empire and was later shifted to Babylonia by Alexander. However, this argument is rather confusing, since each of these axes is defined only by a single point, leaving the reader to speculate about their broader direction and implications.

The second part of the chapter discusses the further westward movement of the geopolitical axis of the Hellenistic world, culminating in the rise of the Roman Republic, which eventually brought almost all the Hellenistic kingdoms under its power.[5] Ultimately, Landucci credits Alexander and the Hellenistic kingdoms of his successors with transmitting the Persian system of territorial governance to Rome, which modelled its provinces after it. This point of view can be contested. Not only do the earliest Roman provinces predate any significant Roman engagement in the East, but it can also be argued that they were more directly modelled on the Carthaginian administration (which may have in fact been influenced by the Persian satrapies).[6]

The Roman part of the book was written entirely by G. Zecchini, who divided it into three chapters: the first addresses the supremacy in Italy (La geopolitica italica di Roma, pp. 113–137), the second covers the period from middle Republic to Principate (Gli assi geopolitici tra media Reppublica e Principato, pp. 157–183), and the third examines the end of the Ancient World, reaching as far as the Arab conquests (Geopolitica della transizione: la fine del mondo antico, pp. 185–208). Like the other Authors, Zecchini focuses on describing the main events of the political history in each of the periods. The first chapter discusses the Roman struggles with major threats in the Italian peninsula: Etruscans, Gauls, Samnites, Syracusans and, finally, Pyrrhus. The inclusion of Syracusans (or more specifically the Syracusan tyrants Dionysius I and Dionysius II) among the principal adversaries of Rome might be unexpected, but Zecchini presents a compelling case for

[4] I fully agree with Brizzi's position that the treaty between the Carthaginians and Dionysius I signed in the 370s marks the beginning of direct control over some Sicilian land (p. 104), although I do not consider them to be synonymous with *epikrateia* – see Dudziński 2019 and 2021.

[5] There is one small factual issue that merits pointing out, which can be easily attributed to trying to make text attractive: on p. 152 Landucci mentions the battle "on the plain of Cynoscephalae," where the "agile and flexible roman legion defeated the rigid Macedonian phalanx." In fact, the battle was fought over the hills, and it was precisely the uneven terrain that hindered the Macedonian left and contributed to the success of the Roman right wing.

[6] For the Carthaginian influence on Roman provinces, see Quinn 2017; for the possibility that the Carthaginian administration in Africa followed the Persian model, see Manfredi 2003.

including both Dionysii as rivals of the still young Republic (pp. 123–125). Zecchini's second chapter starts with a discussion of the Punic Wars and continues until the end of the Severan dynasty. The bulk of the chapter is organized geographically, discussing how the Roman presence changed over time in each area. A similar organization can be found in the final chapter, which focuses on the Westen rather than Eastern part of the empire.

The chapters are complemented by eight maps, collected in a separate section and placed between the main text and the bibliography. The maps are reprinted from earlier publications. The bibliography is divided between the chapters, which occasionally leads to duplicated entries. The volume is well-edited, although some minor mistakes can be found.[7]

Let us now return to the question of how the authors of the volume understand the term "geopolitics." It is clear that the guiding principle of this collection is to provide readers with an overview of the political history of the highest order, not unlike what the Greek authors of *koinai historiai* attempted to achieve. The occasional use of geopolitical terms cannot conceal the fact that the authors seem to be more concerned with political or military issues than with the impact of geography on the strategies of the Ancient political actors. To give but one example, in the final chapter Zecchini devotes more space to the details of the military reform of Gallienus (p. 188) than to the assignments of "capitals" to the tetrarchs (p. 190). As a result, the volume does not offer a new and unique perspective on the history of the ancient world by looking at it through a geopolitical lens. Instead, it provides a brief, highly condensed, but comprehensive guide to the political history of this world. It can serve as a very useful introduction to anyone beginning to study antiquity and primarily interested in political history. Under such circumstances Landucci and Zecchini's volume can prove a more convenient alternative to traditional historical handbooks, precisely due to its focus on politics.

Zecchini and Landucci are of course justified in adopting the widest and most basic understanding of "geopolitics" for their collection, but it is difficult not to consider it a missed opportunity. At the same time, the individual contributions at times show how the geopolitical lens can be useful for studying antiquity. I suggest that by narrowing the definition of geopolitics down to the relation between geography and long-term strategical and political planning, we can uncover ways in which ancient peoples viewed space beyond the purely regional scale and factored it into their decisions. Both sides of this relation require some comment. Geography cannot be restricted to just the immediate physical features, like e.g., defensible hills, or natural borders (rivers, straights, mountain ranges). We also need to consider the availability of resources and the existing trade routes, since we have evidence that the political actors of the ancient world did take such factors into account. Athenian politics, as represented by Thucydides and Xenophon, provides us with interesting examples of such thinking—for instance, Thucydides stresses the importance of Amphipolis for supplying the Athenian fleet with timber (Thuc. I.108), and the terms of the peace of Antalcidas, which granted autonomy to all Greek cities, specifically excluded the islands of Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros. These islands, aside from

[7] The maps are reprinted from Bearzot 2015 and Cecconi 2021. For the example of editorial mistake see p. 148 which dates the Chremonidean War to the 2nd century BC instead of the 3rd century BC.

hosting large cleruchies, were key to facilitating the Hellespontine grain trade, and they remained in Athenian hands (Xen. *Hell*. 5.1.31).[8]

Let us now turn to the more problematic side of the relation we are trying to define: strategy and policy making. Where can we draw the line between strategy and policy on the one hand, and geopolitics on the other? Precise and definite answers can never be given, especially when we consider the vast chronological scope of antiquity. The Royal Road built by Darius I in the 5th century BC to connect Susa with Sardis can be seen as a geopolitical project, and the same could be said for some Roman roads, such as the Via Appia in the early days of the Republic, or the Via Egnatia connecting the Adriatic coast with Byzantion over the Hellespont. However, this would surely not apply to the Via Claudia Nova which, in the 1st century AD, connected two existing roads in central Italy. As empires grow, so too must the scope of the decisions for us to consider them geopolitical.[9]

Moreover, we need to remember that the immediate gain does not necessary preclude geopolitical significance. For example, the placement of a garrison in Acrocorinth made perfect tactical and strategical sense, since it was a very strong defensive position, but it was its position at the entrance to the Corinthian Isthmus, potentially blocking the way into or out of Peloponnesus, that made it one of the key Macedonian strongholds in Greece in the Hellenistic period. The fact that Philip V supposedly called Acrocorinth, Demetrias and Chalcis the "fetters of Greece" (Paus. VII.7.6) indicates that the Greeks already recognized the exceptional importance of this fortress in comparison to others. If Acrocorinth had been the only Macedonian fortress of this kind in Greece, we could easily attribute it to coincidence. However, the existence of three such points, distant from each other, but similar in their role and situation, indicates that we are observing a deliberate policy which extends beyond the strategic value of any single site. It represents a wider, geopolitical strategy adopted by the Macedonian kings in their attempts to control Greece.[10]

If we were to offer a definition of geopolitics suitable for antiquity, it would have to remain very general. I would suggest that geopolitics refers to actions rooted in the geographical importance of the space, particularly in terms of granting or restricting access to specific areas, resources, or trade routes. This geographical importance must extend beyond the immediate tactical or strategic gains.[11]

Sometimes, traces of geopolitical thought are even more apparent, e.g., as with the early treaties between Rome and Carthage, which were clearly designed to safeguard Carthaginian economic interests in the Western Mediterranean by prohibiting Roman

[8] For the importance of Macedonian timber for Athenian shipbuilding during the Peloponnesian War, see Meiggs 1982, 126–130. For the importance of the grain imports from the Black Sea regions, see e.g., Moreno 2007, 144–208.

[9] There are reasons to see the route from Susa to Sardis as merely a part of a wider communication system of the Persian Empire, see Briant 2012; Colburn 2013. The Roman road network is very well visualized by the Mapping Past Societies project: https://darmc.harvard.edu/ (accessed on March 24th, 2025) for the overview of the development of the Roman road system, see Tilburg 2007, 1–7; Various interesting aspects of this system and its relation to geography are also addressed by the contributions to Adams – Lawrence 2001.

[10] On the importance of the Isthmus of Corinth and Acrocorinth in particular see Pettegrew 2016, 89–112.

[11] For an interesting and insightful discussion about the limitations of the geopolitical perspective for the ancient history, see Vacanti 2020, 297–301.

trade and interference in specific regions.[12] An excellent attempt to use geopolitics as an interpretative tool for antiquity can be found in Claudio Vacanti's recent study of the first years of the First Punic Wars. Vacanti provides a compelling analysis of geopolitical perspectives (including e.g., perceived threats) of the major political actors in the conflict—the Roman Republic, Carthage and Syracuse—and the pivotal position of Sicily in their respective calculations.[13]

I believe it is sufficiently clear that the ancients were indeed capable of thinking in geopolitical categories, at least occasionally. This makes it possible to use geopolitical analysis to explain the reasons, aims and designs of political actors in situations where our sources do not provide enough information, or where they are biased and may not be trustworthy when it comes to the motivations of one side. Analysing the ways in which the sources describe regions, borders and important points in such contexts may deepen our understanding of how the ancients understood space and sought to control and secure it. It may also be interesting to see how and whether the answers to these questions varied over time or between different political actors (e.g., land empires and maritime empires).

In conclusion, although Landucci and Zecchini's volume adopts a very wide definition of geopolitics and does not thoroughly analyse specific examples of it, it certainly raises interesting questions regarding geopolitics as a valuable research perspective. I believe that, in order to truly make use of the geopolitical lens, we cannot ignore the geographical aspect and focus merely on the dynamics of international relations. Only by keeping in mind this aspect can we uncover something new about the ancient world.[14]

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[12] See e.g., Scardigli 2011; Espada Rodríguez 2013. The most important work of reference on treaties remains Scardigli 1991.

[13] Vacanti 2020.

[14] It is worth considering that studying the ancient world may be an excellent proving ground for any general geopolitical theories, as the Mediterranean world in particular offers a geography very different from the modern world. It could be interesting to see if e.g., Mackinder's or Spykman's general concepts find equivalents in the Mediterranean setting, where the geography created a very different set of circumstances.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 345–351
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.024.21414
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

The False Twins: Some Comparative Observations on the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Empires

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Christelle Fischer-Bovet, Sitta von Reden (eds.), *Comparing the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Empires: Integration, Communication, and Resistance*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge–New York 2021, 390 pp. + b/w maps; ISBN 978-1-108-74952-7

Since the beginning of the 1990s, so for a good few decades now, there has been a period of growing interest in the Hellenistic period. This also applies to research on the two largest empires of the Greek-Macedonian world of this era: the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. Both have had a number of monographs and articles addressing various research problems, as well as extensive synthetic approaches to their history. For studies on the Seleucid Empire, the works of Amélie Kuhrt and Susan M. Sherwin-White were particularly important.[1] They proposed a new approach to the problems already present in research and offered new research perspectives. Both books sparked a lively discussion and gave impetus to new studies. Studies on various problems (political, military, economic, cultural, regional, etc.) and analysing them from different perspectives have continually been published.[2] The Ptolemaic Empire was the subject of two extensive syntheses at that time, by Günther Hölbl and Werner Huss.[3] The latter also published a monograph on the administration of the Ptolemaic state.[4]

[1] Sherwin-White – Kuhrt 1993.

[2] To list just a few monographs: Aperghis 2004; Kosmin 2014; Chrubasik 2016; Erickson 2018.

[3] Hölbl 1994 (English translation: Hölbl 2001); Huss 2001. There were also other syntheses (e.g., Manning 2010), as well as monographs addressing various topics in the history of the Lagids (e.g., Hoffmann 2000; Manning 2003), and a number of collective publications devoted to specific problems (e.g., McKechnie – Guillaume 2008; Buraselis – Stefanou – Thompson 2013; Cromwell – McKechnie 2018) published.

[4] Huss 2011.

The recently published book *Comparing the Ptolemaic and Seleucid empires: Integration, Communication, and Resistance*, edited by Christelle Fischer-Bovet and Sitta von Reden has a clear structure. It consists of ten chapters assigned to three sections, dedicated to three well-defined topics which were analysed. Almost all chapters were written by two authors, and some of them are divided into paragraphs, in which the topic was presented in relation to the Seleucid or Ptolemaic state, respectively. However, it is usually not a simple "one-to-one" comparison of individual problems in relation to both states. Most often, a kind of dialogue has arisen between the authors, who frequently proposed a different way of presenting the same problem.

The first part: *Cities, Settlement and Integration* opens the chapter by S. von Reden and R. Strootman, *Imperial metropoleis and Foundation Myths Ptolemaic and Seleucid Capitals Compared* (pp. 17–47). The differences between the two monarchies in this respect are clearly visible. In the Ptolemaic state, Alexandria's position as the most important city, also in terms of the royal residence, was unquestionable. Only at the very beginning of Ptolemy's reign as satrap of Egypt was his seat in Memphis. It was mainly for practical reasons, although Memphis' importance was raised by tradition and religious considerations. The city was the centre of the cult of Apis, which played an important role in the royal ideology of the Ptolemies in terms of their pharaonic image. This aspect played an increasingly important role, especially from the 2nd century BC, which coincided with the growing influence of the Memphite priests.[5]

The Seleucids ruled a territory with a tradition of several royal cities. Strootman emphasizes the difficulties in defining the capital in the case of the Seleucid empire. He points out that because the Seleucid monarchy had a mobile core, there were many residences in it.[6] Seleucia-Tigris and Seleucia Pieria were the "royal cities." It was in the latter that the founder of the dynasty was buried, which—combined with the fact that it was an important port in the Eastern Mediterranean—may evoke certain associations with Alexandria. Seleucia Pieria, however, never developed into a city as large as the capital of Ptolemaic Egypt. Strootman emphasizes that Antioch, often indicated as the Seleucid capital, acquired the status of a "royal city" only in the times of Antiochus IV, although in his opinion it had already achieved the symbolic status of the centre of the empire in the times of Antiochus III. The main focus of von Reden and Strootman's considerations are the foundation myths of the capitals (Alexandria, and in the case of the Seleucids – Tetrapolis) and the ways how the capitals were constructed in the symbolic sphere with help of foundation legends. Regardless of the differences mentioned above, both scholars conclude that in many respects both empires were similar, especially in the sphere of elites (representatives of the elites of the *poleis*).

The next pair of texts form a chapter *Reassessing Hellenistic Settlement Policies: The Seleucid Far East, Ptolemaic Red Sea Basin and Egypt* (pp. 48–85). Their authors, R. Mairs and C. Fischer-Bovet dealt with the settlement policies of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, respectively. Both authors proposed an approach that omits (apart from

[5] Cf. Crawford 1980; Thompson 1988, 125–138, 151, 179–181; Huss 1994; Hölbl 2001, 78, 80–81, 89, 281. On the place of Apis in the Ptolemaic ideology, see Crawford 1980, 8–15; Hölbl 2001, 80–81, 88.

[6] In the older literature, the prevailing view was that the Seleucids were supposed to focus their attention on the rivalry in the eastern part of the Mediterranean basin, which was believed to be the main cause of the fall of their state. Strootman emphasizes, however, that this problem is not clear-cut.

minor comments) the Eastern Mediterranean area, which was extremely important for the settlement activity of both dynasties.[7] An interesting attempt of a typology of Ptolemaic settlements established in Egypt is proposed. Much space is also devoted to considerations on the participation of local elites and population in the creation of new settlements or in the altering the old ones. In relation to the Seleucids, the military character of their foundation activity in Central Asia was emphasized.

The third chapter of the book's first part is a text co-written by Philippe Clancier and Gilles Gorre *The Integration of Indigenous Elites and the Development of* poleis *in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Empires* (pp. 86–105). It is an extremely interesting comparison of the role of the local elites in the temple administration within the governance structures of both monarchies and the processes of "poliadisation." The importance of the Egyptian priestly elites and their relations with the Ptolemies have been discussed many times.[8] The authors emphasize the differences in the situations of the two dynasties. The Ptolemies gained control over the temples in Egypt, and the priests played an important role in building the traditional, religious image of the new Macedonian rulers.[9] The authors propose an interesting way to reconstruct the stages of integrating the temple personnel into the state structure through the chronology of the decrees of the priestly synods. They also refer here to a recently formulated proposal to explain why no synodal decree has been recorded in the period since the second half of the 2nd century BC. According to this theory, synods were to become needless due to the integration of the temple staff with the Ptolemaic royal administration.[10] This, according to the authors of the chapter, was the main factor in the fact that the Ptolemies did not found *poleis* in Egypt and did not transform existing settlements into such. It is worth noting, however, that there were more reasons for the Ptolemies' specific reluctance to create *poleis*. First of all, they took over an extensive and efficient administration apparatus and could have considered that introducing a new element could disrupt the well-functioning system. The greatest settlement activity of the Hellenistic dynasties occurred in the first period of this era, i.e. before the integration of the temple elites with the Ptolemaic administration took place. Despite this, the Ptolemies in Egypt founded only one *polis*—Ptolemais in the Thebaid. One of the reasons why the Hellenistic kings established *poleis* was the desire to attract Greek immigrants. The conditions offered to them by the country on the Nile were apparently so economically attractive that in the case of the Ptolemies this factor was not so important.

In the case of the Seleucids, things were quite different. Moreover, as Clancier and Gorre note, unlike the Egyptian priestly circles, the Babylonian ones formed a closed group. An important factor was—unlike in Egypt, where the local elites were formed by the temple elites—the diversity of the elites in Babylonia. The Seleucids established *poleis*, which served as administrative tools precisely because the priestly elites could not become such a tool, and this was in the interest of both the Seleucids themselves and the local non-Babylonian elites. The proposed solution will certainly become a field for discussion on this subject, not only in relation to Babylonia, but also to the possible

[7] On this topic see Cohen 1978; Mueller 2006, 56–59; 157–159; Grabowski 2013.

[8] See e.g., Thompson 1988, 106–154; Koenen 1993, 46–66; Huss 1994; Hölbl 2001, 77–90; 162–168; 257–284.

[9] For this topic, cf. Quaegebeur 1989; Hölbl 2001, 77–90.

[10] Gorre – Veïsse 2020. On synodal decrees, see Huss 1991.

application of such a model in relation to other areas where the Seleucids founded *poleis*. In fact, they were one of the most active dynasties in the settlement policies.[11]

The last chapter in this part of the book (P. Sänger, *Contextualizing a Ptolemaic Solution*: *The Institution of the ethnic* politeuma, pp. 106–126). is devoted to a distinctive Ptolemaic type of settlement, namely *politeumata*. The author sees in *politeumata* an alternative, typical Ptolemaic, solution to city foundations which were so frequent in the Seleucid Empire. Sänger emphasizes that, especially in the conflict-filled 2nd century BC, they played an important role in the Ptolemaic policy as one of the tools for winning the loyalty of various ethnic groups settled in Egypt.

The second part of the book deals with three aspects related to the imperial policy of both dynasties. The first chapter by Paul J. Kosmin and Ian Moyer (*Imperial and Indigenous Temporalities in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Dynasties*: *A Comparison of Times*, pp. 129–163) is a comparison of the different dating systems used in both empires. P. Kosmin draws attention to the Seleucid era as an attempt to create a new beginning. Moyer notes that the Ptolemies were less bold in this respect. However, he emphasizes the importance of introducing the name of the eponymous priest of Alexander's cult and the Ptolemies into the dating formula of documents. This innovation, unprecedented in Egyptian practice, defined a new era. Local elites used the traditional regnal year count, but also introduced references to the new standard that celebrated the new dynasty ruling in Egypt. Much attention was also paid to Manetho and Berossus, the historians of Egyptian and Babylonian origin, and their role in strengthening this message.

Next chapter by R. van den Hoff (*The Visual Representation of Ptolemaic and Seleucid Kings: A Comparative Approach to Portrait Concepts*, pp. 164–180) is an analysis of royal portraits. As is well known, this is an important material for studies on royal ideology and van den Hoff also draws attention to some of its aspects. He rightly notes the role the concept *tryphe* played in the ideology of the Lagids.[12] He also periodizes royal portrait concepts distinguishing four main periods (the period of the founders of the dynasty, when the images of Seleucos I and Ptolemy I show many common features; the second generation; the period from the rule of Antiochus III and Ptolemy IV to the years 160–140 BC, and finally the last, to the end of the 2nd century BC, when a renaissance of older models of royal presentation can be observed. Of course, some of the author's observations are already well known (the standardization of Ptolemaic portraits or the more individualized portraits of the Seleucids), but the text contains some interesting observations in relation to the system of visual communication used by both dynasties.

This part of the book is closed by the chapter *Monetary Policies, Coin Production, and Currency Supply in the Seleucid and Ptolemaic Empires* (pp. 191–230) by Panagiotis P. Iossif and Catharine C. Lorber. The core of their considerations is the coin production in both empires. Lorber also presents a short summary of her considerations on Ptolemaic monetary policy (in chronological and territorial order), presented by her in more detail several years ago in an exhaustive study on Lagid coinage.[13]

The authors emphasize the fundamental differences between the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC and conclude that in the 2nd century BC the Ptolemaic and Seleucid monetary systems

[11] On the city foundations by Hellenistic kings, see Tcherikover 1927; Cohen 1995; 2006; 2013.

[12] For *tryphe* cf. Tondriau 1948; Heinen 1983; Müller 2009, 159–172.

[13] Lorber 2018.

were similar in some respects. This was largely the result of the adaptation Ptolemaic patterns by the Seleucids. After the final annexation of southern Syria and Phoenicia to the Seleucid Empire, they adopted local practices of dating coinages. In addition, following the example of the Lagids, the Seleucids attempted to introduce a system based on bronze coins. Finally, for about half a century, coins combining Seleucid and Ptolemaic (eagle on the reverse) iconography were minted. The authors develop an interesting topic, such as the involvement of local (civic) circles in the design of coinages. It has already been emphasized in scholarship that quasi-municipal coinages were a top-down imposition of royal types, and local centres had some control only at the level of execution.[14] It was suggested in the context of the Sixth Syrian War that this was a way of involving cities in sharing financial burdens.[15] In terms of integration and involvement of local elites in monetary production, as could be expected the regions with strong traditions of cities as an important type of political organization, i.e. the East Mediterranean areas, stand out.

The last, third part of the book: *Collaboration, Crisis, and Resistance* is dedicated to local elites and their relations with the authorities. It consists of three chapters: S. Pfeiffer, H. Klinkott, *Legitimizing the Foreign King in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Empires*: *The Role of Local Elites and Priests* (pp. 231–261); B. Dreyer, F. Gerardin, *Antiochus III, Ptolemy IV, and Local Elites*: *Deal-Making Politics at Its Peak* (pp. 262–300); S. Honigman, A.-E. Veïsse, *Regional Revolts in the Seleucid and Ptolemaic Empires* (pp. 301–328). Their authors analyse and compare both the models of cooperation between local elites and the Ptolemies and Seleucids, as well as the most important cases of revolts of the native population against their rule. These topics are often presented from the perspective of the ruled rather than the rulers.

Particularly interesting are two chapters about non-Greek elites and populations. Pfeiffer presents the cooperation of the Ptolemies with the Egyptian priests. He devotes special attention to the synods and the decrees documenting their decisions. They presented the Lagids in the context of Egyptian religion and mythology and thus helped to legitimize the Lagids' power, especially in times of crisis. Klinkott also presents the connections of the Seleucids with the priestly elites. In previous studies, attention has often been drawn to the caution with which the early Seleucids treated Babylon. The ostentatious gestures of piety towards local deities served to consolidate the kings' position. Documents that were created in temple circles presented the Seleucids as kings of Babylon receiving power from Bēl-Marduk.[16] Klinkott also draws attention to the appearance of members of the dynasty in religious roles, e.g., in Babylonian rituals, and their involvement in the renovation of temples. The chapter by S. Honigman, A.-E. Veïsse is an extremely interesting comparison of the two major revolts against the rule of the dynasty: the Thebaid revolt (202–180 BC) and the Maccabean revolt in Judea (160s BC).

To sum up, the book offers a systematic comparison of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid empires. The comparison concerns many aspects of the functioning of both states. The most common topic is the local elites and their relations with rulers at various levels. Individual texts contain many interesting insights and observation, and the entire book is undoubtedly a useful and important supplement to previous studies on the Hellenistic

[14] Meadows 2001, 59–60.

[15] Iossif 2014, 79.

[16] For this topic cf. Sherwin-White 1983; Linssen 2004; Edelmann 2007, 303–308; Ericksson 2011.

World. Based on diverse and non-easy to interpret source material, the authors carefully trace the similarities between the two states. The conclusion, however, included in the introduction, is that both empires were "false twins" among the Hellenistic states; "they looked similar, but at the same time they were completely different" (p. 2).

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 353–356
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.025.21415
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Julian Wünsch, *Großmacht gegen lokale Machthaber. Die Herrschaftspraxis der Seleukiden an den Rändern ihres Reiches* (*Philippika*, 164), Harrasowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2022, 430 pp. + 67 b/w ills.; ISSN 1613-5628; ISBN 978-3-447-11905-4

For several years now, the history of empires, both ancient and more recent, has been coalescing into a growing research field, producing numerous publications on all aspects of imperial history—political, economic, social, cultural—and tracing relations between different political entities, and the causes of imperial rise and decline. Julian Wünsch's work, based on his 2020 dissertation and focused on the relations between the Seleucid Empire and its neighboring states, falls into this research trend. While the topic of relations between Syrian rulers and their neighbors has already been studied, these ties are typically considered in regard to interactions between the Seleucid Empire and its larger neighbors. In turn, smaller political entities, such as Judea, by and large attracted scholars' attention only in the context of Seleucid regional policy. This prevailing scholarly neglect of smaller Seleucid neighbors stems not so much from their secondary importance in Syrian kings' politics (though at times this rang true), but primarily from the fragmentary status of surviving sources through which we can trace and analyze their mutual contacts. This makes the author's effort to present a comprehensive panorama of Seleucid political relations with all their neighbors particularly noteworthy.

In the first chapter (*Quellen*, pp. 9–41), the author presents and characterizes a gamut of utilized sources: literary, epigraphic, archaeological, and numismatic. On written sources, the author admirably went beyond the canonical list of Greek and Latin authors, incorporating Jewish (1 and 2 Maccabees, works of Josephus Flavius, the book of *Megillat Ta'anit*, and *Josippon*) and Armenian sources (chiefly the *History of the Armenians* by Movses Khorenatsi (or Moses of Chorene), the father of Armenian historiography, who lived in the 4th/5th century CE). Among the texts mentioned above, Moses' *History*, though late and not entirely reliable, preserves some valuable accounts pertaining to the Hellenistic period, fully justifying its inclusion. Concerning epigraphic texts, the author went beyond the Greek corpus, consulting Aramaic materials (significant for the history of Armenia and the Parthia), as well as the Babylonian astronomical diaries in cuneiform, invaluable historical records on Mesopotamia in the Hellenistic and Parthian periods.

In Wünsch's view, understanding the complexity of relations between the Seleucids and their political partners necessitates referring to the model of such relations established by the Achaemenids, one surviving after Alexander the Great's conquest of their empire within its administrative and political structures and subsequently maintained under the Seleucids. Accordingly, in the second chapter of his work (*Lokale Machthaber im Achämenidenreich*, pp. 43–73), the author identifies the key operative elements of

the Achaemenid state apparatus. These include the division of the Persian state into satrapies, the autonomy of those Greek cities in Asia Minor whose authorities cooperated with the Persians, and the existence of local power centers in the form of indigenous dynasties and local rulers. Each of these operative constituents was given a scope of administrative, military, and judicial authority in accordance with its rank, which freed the central administration from dealing with local matters and limited its role to supervision and rare intervention as required. The author notes that this system, despite its seemingly primitive nature, proved effective in practice, as no rebellion or various disturbances managed to threaten the stability of the Achaemenid state (cf. pp. 70–71). Thus, the Seleucids' decision to adopt the Persian model of imperial management for their own purposes is understandable.

In the third chapter (*Lokale Machthaber im Seleukidenreich*, pp. 75–309), the author compiles data on the history and nature of relations between Syrian rulers and local power centers in Asia Minor (pp. 75–157), the Near East (pp. 158–200), and the eastern frontiers of their empire (pp. 200–309), with whom the Syrian rulers maintained contacts over shorter or longer periods. The extensive list of these centers comprises 28 entries. Some were minor, territorially limited political entities—cities and sanctuaries (Laodicea on the Lycus, Themisonion, Synnada, Telmessos, Olba, Emesa); others encompassed entire regions (Southern Phrygia, Caria, Galatia, Northern Syria, Ituraea), while in the remaining dozen or so cases, the Seleucids' partners were rulers and political leaders of mightier states (Pergamon, Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Armenia, Sophene, Commagene, Nabatea, Judea, Osrhoene, Adiabene, Media Atropatene, Characene, Elymais, Persis, Parthia, Bactria, India) that often exerted considerable influence over the fate of their empire.

In the subsequent chapter (*Lokale Machthaber im Römischen Reich und im Arsakidenreich*, pp. 311–341), the author examines the policies of Rome and Parthia in territories acquired from the Seleucids. In Rome's case, the lands came into its domain through Cn. Pompey's annexation of Syria in 63 BCE, while the Parthians obtained their Seleucid territories through major conquests during the second century BCE. The policies of both Rome and Parthia aligned in that after conquering parts of the Seleucid domain they either left local dynastic rulers alone under the condition of acknowledging their overlords' supremacy or sought to keep them within their sphere of influence. These policies did not always yield the desired results, particularly when ambitious and charismatic local rulers harbored ambitions to transform their states into regional powers in face of their neighbors' weakness. Rome propped up local power centers only as long as it served Roman interests. The Romans did not always establish relations with local dynasties or rulers: at times, they would replace them with their own appointees or, when advantageous to their interests, annex territories and convert them into provinces subject to central authority — either to the Senate or to the Emperor. In the Parthian state, until the first century CE, the practice of leaving local power centers in the hands of autochthonous dynasties prevailed, though this did not always ensure effective control. In the first century CE, Parthian rulers began deposing unruly local leaders and entrusting power to members of their own dynasty; however, royal sons of Parthia from different mothers also vied for power among themselves, fomenting rebellions and waging civil wars.

In the fifth chapter (*Lokale Machthaber im Seleukidenreich und die seleukidische Herrschaftpraxis*, pp. 343–358), the author evaluates the delegated governance model of

the Seleucids. Among its advantages, he identifies more effective collection of tax and customs revenues by local power centers. Autochthonous dynasts could also support the Seleucids in large-scale military operations and played a crucial role in defending the empire's eastern borders against nomadic attacks, with their peripheral location typically making them the first line of organized resistance against invaders. Furthermore, local rulers were valuable partners to the imperial administration due to their generally thorough understanding of social and religious contexts in their territories. However, the author correctly observes that the negative aspects of this governance model outweighed its benefits. Power struggles within the Seleucid dynasty and numerous revolts by dependent rulers often led to territories proclaiming independence, incurring territorial losses and corresponding fiscal deficits for the empire. The cumulative effect of these factors inevitably led to the state's decline (cf. pp. 346–350).[1]

Wünsch's analysis of Seleucid relations with local power centers at the fringes of their empire demonstrates that the Syrian rulers did not establish these relationships according to any systematic approach: they were unable to exert effective influence over far-flung and socio-culturally diverse polities across their empire, in peripheral regions in Central Asia and those situated along the Iranian-Indian frontier. Implementing any imperial policies often required the use of force and did not always yield the anticipated results. In many documented instances, Syrian kings failed to compel rebellious subjects or vassals into submission despite deploying substantial military forces.

The lingering Achaemenid heritage in the Seleucid state has been the subject of numerous studies, which have consistently confirmed its influence across various spheres of social and political life. However, Wünsch maintains that, despite apparent similarities in state organization models, the system created by the Seleucids differed significantly from that constructed by the Achaemenids. Its fundamental weakness lay both in the tenuous nature of authority over political partners and in the empire's vulnerability to internal and external threats. The author also highlights that the Seleucids made no overt reference to Achaemenid heritage in their political ideology, which undoubtedly resulted from their failure to grasp its symbolic significance to subjects inhabiting the eastern satrapies of their empire, thereby hampering their efforts to gain these subjects' sympathy and loyalty (cf. pp. 355–358). The author summarizes his arguments in a brief epilogue (*Epilog: Lokale Machthaber und die Schwäche des Seleukidenreiches*, pp. 359–362).

One should equally commend the sustained scholarly effort invested by Wünsch into preparing this work and his deft handling of the complexities of Seleucid history. His analyses of Seleucid relations with various political partners illuminate readers on both the fundamental facts of these entities' individual histories and on finer points of their interactions with the Syrian rulers. Each case study includes references to primary sources and secondary literature, making it a valuable starting point for further research. The bibliography encompasses publications up to 2021, though that final year is sparsely

[1] P. 350: „Die obigen Ausführungen verdeutlichen, dass die negativen deutlich gegenüber den positiven Effekten, die mit der Präsenz der lokalen Machthaber verbunden waren, überwiegen. Dies manifestiert sich insbesondere im zunehmenden Kontrollverlust der Seleukiden über die Regionalherrschen, die primär am Ausbau ihrer eigenen Macht und damit an einer Schwächung ihrer Oberherren interessiert waren, sowie in deren häufig erfolgreichen Sezessionen, die zu Kriegen und zur stetigen Verkleinerung des seleukidischen Herrschaftsraumes führten."

represented. Despite the bibliography's considerable size (pp. 377–411), some omissions are noticeable, though inevitable in a study of this complexity. Similarly, Wünsch's incorporation of most recent publications into his analysis varies across different sections. However, these elements do not significantly impact the overall excellence of the work.

The chief claim to importance of this work lies in its presentation of a complex picture of the Seleucid Empire's operation throughout its history in relation to its political partners, whom the author terms local centers of power, and its independent neighbors. The second-largest empire created by the Macedonians and Greeks after Alexander the Great's empire, the Seleucid was destined for inevitable decline from its inception, its power resting more on the authority of its founders than on its internal structures. These structures, despite being modeled on the underlying Achaemenid system, proved too weak to guarantee the stability of Seleucid rule and maintain state cohesion in the face of various crises. Despite efforts by various Syrian rulers to halt their state's disintegration, they were unable to arrest this process. The author convincingly demonstrates the clear correlation between the state and form of Seleucid relations with their partners and the progressive disintegration of their empire. While some conclusions and observations in Wünsch's work echo findings of other scholars, he offers numerous original insights, providing readers with a survey of a broad spectrum of individual cases. Consequently, this work merits attention from researchers interested in both diplomatic relations and administrative models of ancient empires, as well as those studying Seleucid history specifically.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 357–359
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.026.21416
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Stefano G. Caneva, *The Power of Naming: Studies in the Epiclectic Language of Hellenistic Honours* (*Kernos – Supplément*, 41), Presses Universitaires de Liège, Liège 2023, 404 pp., 36 ills. + 16 tab.; ISBN 978-2-87562-358-4; ISSN 0776-3824

The Hellenistic period is characterized by rulers' extensive use of various religious epithets in their official titles. Numerous studies have attempted to define these epithets' functions, meanings, and the circumstances of their incorporation into royal nomenclature. Since achieving universally satisfactory explanations often proves challenging, scholars continue to propose new interpretations of these epithets. Stefano G. Caneva stands out as a researcher who has spent years investigating religious phenomena in the Hellenistic world. His latest contribution is a recently published work examining the construction and function of multi-component religious titles among Hellenistic rulers. The author undertook this study because, as he notes, existing literature lacked a systematic analysis and discussion of this topic, because scholars had not yet developed adequate tools to move beyond long-established findings (cf. pp. 21–22). In response, Caneva created his own analytical tools, methodology, and associated terminology.

The author bases his analysis and interpretation on several distinct patterns he identified in Hellenistic monarchs' religious titles: a) their names were combined with anthroponyms, b) theonyms, and c) one or more titles. These patterns intertwined to create combinations that expressed relationships between political power and the divine sphere. The author argues that analyzing these patterns across different monarchies and time periods reveals local practices and mutual influences between various political centers (p. 11). Another focus of his research is the rulers' use of the epithet *Theos* (cf. pp. 30 ff., 237–312). While scholars traditionally believe that ruler worship in this period modeled itself on common religious practices, the author suggests considering a reverse phenomenon as well.

The book thoroughly examines these issues across six chapters. In the first chapter (*Cult Denominations and the Dilemma of Hellenistic Royal Deification: A Methodological Introduction*, pp. 21–58), the author presents a detailed methodology for analyzing how individuals and groups used epithets and titles to honor rulers. The author makes a crucial distinction between "epithets" and "titles." Epithets relate to ritual practices within specific cults—sometimes referred to as *epiclesis*—while titles encompass the standard designations that accompanied rulers' names. The author argues that these terms cannot be used interchangeably, as epithets neither evolved into standard titles nor did all of them develop into cult-specific designations (p. 28 ff.). The author introduces several original concepts to define religious phenomena associated with ruler worship more precisely and to integrate previously disconnected elements that actually form integral parts of ruler

cults. Two key concepts are "religious status" and its derivative, "the religious persona of a ruler" (pp. 40–48). Given their complexity and methodological significance, it is worth examining the key elements of their proposed definitions: „Like social status, we can describe the religious status of human beings as a social construct, which can change across time, space, and social groups. This category encapsulates both the performative—i.e. ritual—aspects of worship, and the discourse or visual representations that accompany them (e.g., justification of honours, visual and linguistic approximation to the divine, etc.). Within a particular social context, persons who enjoy different social statuses are deemed worthy of receiving/claiming different forms of privileges and honours. By analogy, the religious status of human recipients of cult can be understood as the sum of the actions, representations, and statements that define their position in relation to traditional gods/heroes […]." These definitions enhance our understanding of how human worship functioned within existing religious frameworks of specific communities.[1]

By connecting "the religious persona of a ruler" with the epithets and titles used by Hellenistic rulers, the author illuminates the functions of complex cultic designations that accompanied their names. The author observes that the deities mentioned in rulers' compound denominations remain limited in number (cf. pp. 48–55). The next two chapters analyze these compound denominations in detail. Chapter Two (*Two-member denominations combining a royal name with a theonym*, pp. 59–108) examines combinations of rulers' names with theonyms, while Chapter Three (*Three-member and multiple denominations*, pp. 109–200) investigates more complex combinations. Chapter Four (*Divine anthropophoric epicleses based on royal personal names*, pp. 201–236) explores the rare cases where deities' names incorporated epithets derived from rulers' names: Zeus *Philippios*, Zeus *Seleukeios*, Zeus *Antigona(i)os*, and Aphrodite *Stratonikis*. The author terms these epithets anthropophoric[2] and notes their limited geographical scope, relatively brief period of use, and occasionally unclear origins.

Chapter Five (*Becoming* Theos: *The Hellenistic history of a deifying epithet*, pp. 237–312) examines how Hellenistic rulers employed the epithet *Theos*. The author begins by analyzing Alexander the Great's pursuit of divine status, then traces the epithet's usage across various Hellenistic dynasties. The abundant and diverse source material demonstrates that this epithet gained its greatest prominence among the Ptolemies. Ptolemy II became the first ruler of this dynasty to receive the epithet during his lifetime, as did his wife Arsinoe II. Subsequently, its use became standard practice among Ptolemaic rulers, who began augmenting it with additional epithets. The Seleucids adopted this practice following the Ptolemaic model. Antiochus IV played a particularly significant role in popularizing the epithet among his subjects by featuring it on coins alongside his other titles.[3] Following the Seleucid example, the epithet *Theos* gained popularity among rulers

[1] P. 42: "[…] the category of religious status enables us to study the success of ritual practice in placing human recipients of cult next to traditional gods/heroes and, at the same time, investigate its limits […]."

[2] P. 201: "[…] I define antropophoric epicleses those epithets of a deity which take the form of an adjective containing a human personal name."

[3] P. 298–299: „Antiochos [IV] revolutionised the Seleucid tradition of royal self-representation, breaking with his predecessors' more discrete strategies to claim proximity between royal power and the divine. For the first time in the history of the Seleucid dynasty, Antiochos IV used coins to [298] convey and disseminate an epigraphic, god-like image on the monarch throughout the kingdom. […] Neither the epithets nor the divine attributes of Antiochos IV had ever appeared on Seleucid coins depicting living kings."

of states that emerged from their empire. Analysis of sources concerning the Hellenistic rulers' use of the *Theos* epithet reveals that it symbolized their god-like authority over subjects rather than signifying their literal deification.

Chapter Six, as its title suggests (*Synthesis, general observations, and further perspectives*, pp. 313–352), presents a comprehensive summary of the author's findings. His analysis of royal epithets and titles offers fresh insights into rulers' religious standing, which could evolve over time and vary across different regions of their kingdoms. While literary works played a vital role in promoting rulers' religious position, coinage emerged as an equally important propaganda medium, with the Seleucids and other Hellenistic Eastern rulers displaying their epithets and titles alongside their names on coins. This practice's significance for understanding a ruler's religious persona cannot be overstated, particularly given the fragmentary nature of written evidence from the Hellenistic period, which often lacks complete royal nomenclature. The author emphasizes that such multi-component royal denominations typified the period's language of honors. He concludes that the role of cultic honors in the Hellenistic world and their impact on religious life merits further investigation.

Without doubt, Caneva's work stands out among previous studies on ruler cult in the Hellenistic world, both in its approach to the subject and its research methodology. The application of this method to analyze compound denominations of Hellenistic rulers has opened new research perspectives. The author's introduction of new concepts and analytical tools demonstrates that well-known and frequently interpreted phenomena still offer opportunities for fresh perspectives and new insights. Concepts such as "religious status" and "the religious persona of a ruler" have enabled scholars to develop a more comprehensive understanding of various aspects of ruler cult and its socio-religious dimensions. These concepts are particularly valuable due to their universal applicability: they remain relevant beyond the author's period of focus and can be effectively applied to other historical periods featuring both ruler cults and compound denominations. In analyzing these denominations, the author convincingly demonstrates that the position of epithets and titles in royal titulature significantly impacts the religious dimension of rulers' personas, both in state-wide and local contexts. While the work presents a challenging read due to its numerous source analyses and interpretations, its innovative research methodology makes it highly recommendable to scholars studying ruler cult not only in the Hellenistic period but also during the Roman Empire.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 361–364
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.027.21417
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Ole Johannsen, *Imperialer Wandel und ptolemäischer Imperialismus in Syrien. Konnektivität, Konkurrenz und Kooperation*, (*Antike Imperien*, 3), Brill Schöningh, Padeborn 2023, 519 pp. + 36 b/w ills.; ISBN 978-3-506-79037-8

The circumstances surrounding Ptolemy I's acquisition of power over the southern regions of Syria and Palestine, an area also known as the Southern Levant, are well documented. However, our understanding of Egyptian rule in this region has largely remained confined to recycling conclusions formulated long ago, primarily based on written sources available at the time. While the corpus of these textual sources has not expanded significantly over time, our knowledge has been substantially enriched through archaeological excavations and numismatic studies. These new sources of evidence enable us to better identify the political objectives that shaped Ptolemaic policy in the region. This is corroborated by Ole Johannsen's research, presented in his recently published work on Ptolemaic imperialism and governance in Syria. This scholarly contribution emerged from his doctoral dissertation, which he defended in 2020 at the Albert-Ludwig University of Freiburg.

In the introduction (*Einleitung*: *Die südliche Levante als imperialer Raum zwischen Ptolemäern und Seleukidenreich – Perspektiven und Zugänge*, pp. 1–29), he defines his conception of "Ptolemaic imperialism" (pp. 6–19). He also explains his understanding of the terms in the title of his work: connectivity, competition, and cooperation. The first term refers to the process through which Ptolemy I transformed the conquered territories of the Southern Levant into an integral part of the Ptolemaic empire. The second concerns the rivalry between the Seleucids and Ptolemies over this region, while the third relates to the organization and functioning of local administration and the cooperation between local populations and Ptolemaic authorities. Each of these issues is addressed in a separate section of the work.

The first part (*Imperiale Konnektivität: Syrien und Phönikien unter den Ptolemäern*, pp. 31–187), comprising four chapters, examines various aspects of Ptolemaic rule. The first chapter provides a general overview, outlining topics that are developed and discussed in detail in subsequent chapters. One such long-debated issue is the status of Syrian holdings within the Ptolemaic state's administrative structure. After analyzing source materials, the author concludes that (contrary to some previous assumptions) the administrative, military, and fiscal structures, as well as the bureaucratic hierarchy of Egyptian possessions in the Southern Levant, were identical to those of Egypt proper (cf. pp. 41–47).

The following two chapters discuss the Ptolemaic urbanization and colonization policies in southern Syria and Palestine. The author identifies three types of settlement foundations. The first category included foundations of central importance to Egyptian interests; in the Southern Levant, this was exemplified by Ptolemais-Akko (Acre). The second

comprised royal foundations both inland and along the Mediterranean coast. The third category consisted of cities and settlements of secondary importance scattered throughout Palestine and Transjordan (pp. 59–109). The location and significance of individual foundations reflected both their historical roles and the functions assigned to them by Egyptian rulers. The author demonstrates that these carefully planned settlement initiatives enabled the creation of an extensive network of connections, which in turn facilitated the development of administrative infrastructure for managing and exploiting these possessions (pp. 111–146).

The subsequent chapter examines manifestations of Ptolemaic dynastic cult, ruler worship, and the spread of Egyptian deity cults as consequences of the Ptolemaic settlement policy. Our knowledge of associated religious practices comes primarily from epigraphic evidence. Based on the dating of these sources, the author concludes that dynastic and ruler cults gained popularity relatively late, during the reign of Ptolemy IV, catalyzed by his victory at Raphia (217 BCE). The cults of Sarapis and Isis achieved considerably greater popularity, undoubtedly facilitated by Egyptian rulers' colonization efforts. These cults were introduced to Syrian territory by veterans from Egypt (pp. 147–184). This section concludes with a brief summary (*Fazit*: *Phasen der ptolemäischen Herrschaft in Syrien und Phönikien im "Jahrhundert der Ptolemäer,"* pp. 185–187).

In the second part of the work (*Konkurriende Imperien*: *Die südliche Levante zwischen Ptolemäer- und Seleukidenreich*, pp. 191–277), the author examines issues related to the nearly two-century-long rivalry between the Ptolemies and the Seleucid dynasty ruling Syria. This rivalry manifested itself in the so-called Syrian Wars, with the Southern Levant generally considered the primary object of contention. Contrary to what one might expect, the author focuses not on the chronological progression of this rivalry but rather on its ideological underpinnings. He argues that each side operated from distinct ideological premises, which led to perpetual attempts to gain advantage over the other, even despite dynastic marriages between members of both houses. Although these marriages were intended to conclude each phase of the conflict, in practice, they often created pretexts for subsequent confrontations. The Ptolemies' persistent warfare against the Seleucids stemmed from their imperial policy ethos, while for the Seleucids, control over all of Syria constituted a fundamental element of their dynastic ideology. This rivalry only lost its significance when Rome intervened in Egyptian affairs and the eastern Mediterranean basin.

The third section, titled *Verflochtene Ebenen*: *Lokale Ordnung und (trans)lokale Akteure im Raum zwischen den Imperien* (pp. 281–466), presents the most intriguing material due to the nature of its subject matter. In five of its eight chapters, the author explores factors that directly or indirectly influenced political and social relations between Phoenician urban elites and the Ptolemies. Johanssen examines what determined their fate during the Persian period and how their interactions with Alexander the Great shaped their political structure. Until Alexander's conquest, these cities operated under absolute monarchy, where the ruler served as both political leader and chief religious figure. Following Alexander's conquest of the Near East, local monarchical rule in Phoenician cities yielded place to the Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt, with descendants of former kings and local elite representatives becoming the Ptolemies' crucial political partners. These individuals, whom the author names *Brückenakteure* (bridging agents), mediated relations

between Ptolemaic authorities and their new subjects. Few sources preserve information about these figures. The author presents the cases of Philocles, King of Sidon, and Diotimos, a local Sidonian dignitary, as illuminating case studies (*Phönikische Brückenakteure*, pp. 349–365). The ruler cult of Ptolemaic Egypt played a significant role in Phoenician religious life. While the author discusses manifestations of this cult in the first part of the work (cf. pp. 147–184), he devotes an entire chapter to its presence in the religious landscape (*Sakrallandschaft*) of Phoenicia in the subsequent section. This presence involved integrating ruler worship into local religious practices and marking its presence in traditional cult sites ((*Neu*)*Verortungen. Die Ptolemäer in der phönikischen Sakrallanschaft*, pp. 325–348). The iconography of coins minted by these cities provides additional evidence of Ptolemaic presence and influence on local life in Phoenician cities. However, conclusions drawn from this numismatic analysis have limited value (pp. 392–393).

Another example of a local elite whose representatives played key roles in Ptolemaic politics of the Southern Levant, discussed by the author in great details, is the Jewish Tobiad family, connected with Judea and Transjordan (*Brückenakteure in Transjordanien*: *Die Tobiaden*, pp. 395–442; *Appendix*: *Josephus' Tobiadenroman als historische Quelle*, pp. 453–466). We owe our extensive knowledge of the Tobiads primarily to Josephus (*Antiquitates Judaicae* 12.228–236; cf. 154–224; see also 1 Macc 5: 10–13; 2 Macc 12: 17). References to Hyrcanus, the last known representative of this family, can also be found in 2 Maccabees (3: 11). The veracity of Josephus' account has long been debated among scholars, with some questioning its accuracy and others (albeit with various reservations) considering it credible and valuable for understanding the historical realities of this poorly documented period in Judean history. Those who accept its reliability debate which historical period the accounts on the Tobiads actually describe. Johannsen firmly believes that the core narrative about the last Tobiad representatives relies on credible sources used by Josephus. At the same time, he acknowledges that the story contains literary embellishments, particularly regarding the family's early history. While archaeological evidence and written sources have enabled Johannsen to demonstrate the Tobiads' role and power in Transjordan, especially that of Hyrcanus, their position in Jerusalem remains largely speculative. Our understanding relies solely on information from 2 Maccabees, as sources remain silent about other contemporary Tobiad family members, save for mentioning their conflict with Hyrcanus. Although the Tobiads held an exceptional position within the Ptolemaic system, this very uniqueness makes it difficult to treat their history, particularly Hyrcanus' story, as a representative example of a typical bridging agent between the Ptolemies and Judean social elites. While we know that Hyrcanus was responsible for tax collection on behalf of Egypt's rulers, we have no information about his other activities in Jerusalem or Judea that could be interpreted as "bridge-building" on behalf of the Ptolemies.

Johannsen's work stands as an exceptionally valuable contribution to the scholarly literature on Ptolemaic rule in southern Syria and Palestine. Through extensive use of diverse sources, the author has crafted a comprehensive and detailed picture of Ptolemaic activities throughout the Southern Levant. Until now, studies have typically focused either on Phoenicia or Judea in isolation, making it impossible to fully grasp many aspects of Ptolemaic imperial policy across their Near Eastern territories or to properly evaluate their initiatives, particularly in urbanization and colonization. The author's tremendous

effort in creating this extensive work and the broad range of issues analyzed deserve high praise, even though the reading leaves some matters wanting. Notable among these is the limited treatment of Ptolemaic economic policy, despite several references to it throughout the narrative. A more thorough reexamination and verification of older views and opinions on this subject would have warranted more attention: this minor criticism, however, does not detract from the value of the whole. While many could have said the same about a number of monographs, I remain certain that it is Johannsen's work that will long remain essential reading for any scholar interested in the history of the Southern Levant, whether specifically during its incorporation into the Ptolemaic empire or, more broadly, throughout the Hellenistic period. I state this with full conviction, as the work thoroughly deserves such recognition.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 365–367
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.028.21418
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Christoph Begass, Christian Mann, Marco Tentori Montalto (eds.), *Money and Honor in Ancient Athletics*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2024, 228 pp.+ 9 b/w ills.; ISBN 978-3-515-13634-1

Sport represents a form of human activity that has remained consistently popular across historical epochs, primarily due to the emotions it evokes. While sporting events carry significance in social and often political terms, athletes themselves are driven by fame, prestige, and rewards—magnetic forces attracting successive generations of young people willing to make substantial sacrifices. In the ancient world, sport played a crucial social role, naturally prompting inquiries about athletic practices, the identity of athletes, their societal status, and the honors they received for their achievements. Although much has been written about sport in antiquity, the topic continues to generate scholarly interest.[1] Partial answers to these questions emerge in a recently published volume, *Money and Honor in Ancient Athletics*, which compiles conference proceedings from the University of Mannheim (24–27 June 2022). The volume's eight essays span a wide chronological range, from archaic Greece to the Roman Imperial period. Three essays focus on archaic and classical Greece (Th. Heine Nielsen, *On the Pursuit of Athletic Glory by the* poleis *of Late-Archaic and Classical Greece*, pp. 25–58; Z. Papakonstantinou, *Sport Prizes in Archaic and Classical Greece: Funeral Games and the Great Panathenaia*, pp. 91–113; A. Neumann-Hartmann, *Ehre und Siegespreise in der Agonistik des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. – Die Perspektive der Epinikien*, pp. 175–191). In turn, three focus on the Hellenistic period (with one extending into the Roman era) (G. Mouratidis, *Money, Honour, and Athletics in the Hellenistic* polis, pp. 59–74; Chr. Begass, '*Großzügig', 'gerecht" und 'vielfach geehrt'? Zur Selbsdarstellung der Agonotheten in Hellenismus und Kaiserzeit*, pp. 75–89; A. Dheinain, *L'argent dans la motivation des athlètes gymniques à l'époque hellénistique*, pp. 115–143). The final two essays focus on the Roman period (M. Tentori Montalto, *Geld und Ehre in der Motivation und in der Selbstdarstellung der Athleten in der Kaiserzeit*, pp. 145–174; M. L. Caldelli, *Denaro e simboli della vittoria nell'agonistica di epoca romana: dialogo tra immagini e fonti scritte. Un caso studio: il mosaico degli aurighi di Ostia*, pp. 193–216).

The contributions systematically explore athletes' motivations, societal recognition, and the complex interplay between monetary compensation and social prestige across different historical contexts. Th. Heine Nielsen traced the evolution of perceptions of sporting victory from the archaic to the classical period. In the archaic era, dominated by aristocratic values, individual victory was prized as a testament to personal skill. Sporting competition was then limited to aristocratic circles and typically occurred during funeral

[1] Cf. Chrr. Mann, Einführung: Geld, Ehre und Sport in der antiken Gesellschaften, p. 13.

games for prominent figures. As city-states gained prominence, athletic victories by citizens began to be viewed as manifestations of civic and economic vigor. This shift in perspective in turn brought about a surge in popularity of various games associated with cyclical religious festivals. Prizes for victors became a significant motivational factor. The prestige of specific games and the potential to win valuable material or financial rewards at these venues began to play a crucial role in shaping the public image of Greek cities. An increasing number of cities sought to organize their own games, contributing to the development of gymnasiums. Victories by citizens brought cities prestige and fame. However, rewards were not immediately substantial. A. Neumann-Hartmann, having analyzed selections of the *Epinicians* by Pindar, Bacchylides, and fragments of Simonides and Euripides, demonstrated that in the 5th century BCE, glory mattered more to victors than monetary compensation. Scholars like Z. Papakonstantinou have examined the nature of prizes awarded during the archaic and classical periods. Initially, victors of funeral and religious games received valuable objects, though not always purely in terms of wealth. Cities becoming game sponsors at the later stage significantly increased prize value and thus, attractiveness, a prime example found in the Panathenaic prizes in Athens. Epigraphic and written evidence reveals that, from the late 6th century BCE, athletes who won at these games were awarded amphoras filled with high-quality olive oil, with the number of amphoras granted varying by competition type. During the Peloponnesian War, this practice was suspended due to olive grove destruction. It was reinstated in 403 BCE after the tyranny's overthrow, with an increased number of awarded amphoras aimed at restoring the Panathenaic Games' prestige following war and political upheaval.

The Hellenistic period brought several notable developments in sports, including a significant increase in the number of games and the emergence of professional sportsmen. This transformation was enabled by growing prize rewards and the honors and privileges athletes were granted in their home cities, which ensured their elevated social status. G. Mouratidis notes that while athletes initially maintained close relationships with their home cities—made evident through them receiving civic honors and offering religious gifts there—these bonds gradually weakened. Athletes became cosmopolitan wanderers, eventually holding citizenship in multiple cities. While one might assume that participation in numerous successful competitions would make athletes wealthy, Alexis Dhenain's analysis of prize grants reveals a more nuanced reality. The monetary value of rewards varied considerably across games, depending on athletes' age categories, sporting disciplines, and competition types. Generally, rewards were rather modest and came with significant restrictions: winners were often prohibited from selling prize goods and were required to bear additional expenses, such as personally funding victory sacrifices. Considering the costs of coaching, travel, competition entry, and publicity efforts, most athletes found that their prize earnings barely offset their expenditures.

During the Hellenistic and Roman periods, each city's athletic games were organized and financed by an *agonothetes*. These officials, drawn from local elites, amassed enough personal wealth to fulfill their responsibilities, their efforts and investments directly shaping the games' character and athletes' prize amounts. Their names frequently appeared in public spaces—in official documents, athletes' dedications, and commemorative inscriptions. According to Chr. Begass, while the selection of descriptive terms

accompanying these officials' names remain unclear, the usage was likely deliberate and connected to the individual's administrative style (pp. 81–87, esp. 86–87).

During the Roman Imperial period, the popularity of various sporting competitions in the Greek-speaking provinces reached its zenith. Annually, dozens of games of different types and ranks were held. Names of many athletes from that era are known, their victory lists serving as testimony to their impressive achievements. Marco Tentori Monalto endeavored to determine the role of economic incentives *vis-à-vis* the desire for personal fame and honors in athletes' motivations. The author highlighted the importance of athletes' self-presentation through lists of their previous victories, accompanying symbolic imagery, and them being featured on epigraphic lists of victors in specific games (cf. pp. 163–168). A remarkable artifact related to the role of money and fame in ancient sports is a mosaic from the *caldarium* of the so-called Palazzo Imperiale in Ostia, depicting charioteers with their names and symbols of their won prizes, analysed by Maria Letizia Caldelli (though the exact time of the mosaic's creation remains uncertain). Nevertheless, it is evident that these charioteers were once widely recognized, having been immortalized in this manner.

Undoubtedly, money and fame played a crucial role in ancient sports, though not always to the same extent. There were periods when athletes were satisfied with symbolic rewards, prioritizing fame and various privileges granted by their home cities. While the prize itself was a magnet attracting athletes to competitions, its type and value determined its rank and prestige. City-sponsored prizes were also used as a tool for promoting these cities in the Greek world. The nature of the games themselves evolved over time. Initially, they were occasional events accompanying burials of aristocratic elites. By the late archaic and classical periods, they became associated with religious festivals, and in the Hellenistic and Roman eras, they gained a political dimension. All texts in the discussed volume reveal to the reader that money and fame have been the attraction of sports from their inception. They also demonstrate that in some historical periods fame and its associated honors and privileges were more attractive to athletes than the prize itself. The authors' exploration of how the relationship between these two aspects developed over a long period and across different eras of the ancient world makes the volume's contents worthwhile. However, one critical observation about the volume's structure must be made: the editors' decision to arrange the texts alphabetically by authors' names, rather than chronologically, is an unfortunate choice that runs counter to the content's logical progression.

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ELECTRUM * Vol. 32 (2025): 369–373
https://doi.org/10.4467/20800909EL.25.029.21419
www.ejournals.eu/electrum

Udo Hartmann, Frank Schleicher, Timo Stickler (eds.), *Imperia sine fine? Der römisch-parthische Grenzraum als Konflikt- und Kontaktzone* (*Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Forschung*), Verlag W. Kohlhammer GmbH, Stuttgart 2022, 515 pp.; ISBN: 978-3-17-041012-1[1]

Roman-Parthian relations have been widely discussed in specialized research.[2] Because of the frequent conflicts, the interactions are often viewed through the lens of mutual hostility. Naturally, the border regions between these empires provide an exceptional context for examining this view. Both the capacity for self-management of the political actors situated there and the nature of their links with the imperial elites are projected as ambiguous issues in primary sources. This is where the monograph under consideration makes a valuable contribution. It is the culmination of a project of the same name, based at the Department of Ancient History at the Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena, which in September 2018 hosted the conference where the papers compiled in the volume were presented. The book examines the period from the last quarter of the first century AD to the reign of Alexander Severus, coinciding with the fall of the Arsacid dynasty. Geographically, the focus is not limited to the Near East, which, however, is addressed by several researchers, but in keeping with the work's transversal orientation, extends to the Red and Caspian Seas.

The first two chapters, by Frank Schleicher (*Kontinuität und Wandel. Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung der nabatäischen Gebiete als Phänomen des Grenzraumes*, pp. 13–42) and Thomas Brüggemann (*Die Institutionalisierung eines tribalen Umfeldes? Überlegungen zum römischen Umgang mit den Steppenbewohnern der Provinz* Arabia Petraea *im 2. Jahrhundert*, pp. 43–68) respectively, consider Roman influence in the Nabataean Kingdom and Ḥaurān. In the first case, the coexistence of Roman interference with indigenous traditions that remained functional is argued. The societal transformations in Nabataea are explained by an endogenous process associated with the sedentarisation of a formerly nomadic population, a view based on the archaeobotanical, epigraphic, and papyrological evidence. In the second case, the analysis of available records, among which the Safaitic inscriptions stand out, reveals that the Romans experimented with informal integration

[1] The present review has been carried out within the framework of the ACIF Grants. European Social Fund Plus, co-financed by the Generalitat Valenciana and the European Union.

[2] Since the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when Rawlinson, Rostovtzeff and Debevoise began publishing on the subject, the study of Roman-Parthian relations has continued steadily. Among the main contributors to this topic, excluding the specialists involved in this monograph, are scholars such as Ziegler, Chaumont, Keaveney, Millar, Dąbrowa, Campbell, Young, and, more recently, Gregoratti, Nabel, Schlude, and Ellerbrock.

of regional elites by granting certain positions. Meanwhile, local leaders promoted dual forms of self-representation, combining tribal and Roman identities.

Michael Sommer (Inter duo imperia. *The Palmyrenes between East and West*, pp. 69–79) and Rubina Raja (*The way you wear your hat. Palmyrene priests between local traditions and cross-regional trends*, pp. 81–117) focus on Palmyra. Sommer evaluates a passage by Pliny the Elder, who spoke of the city's location "*inter duo imperia*" (*NH*. 5. 88). He argues for the accuracy of this information and, by extension, the presence of a "hybrid civilisation" where Roman influence coexisted with that of the nomadic tribes. Raja also emphasizes the strength of local elements, in this case from the perspective of religious iconography. She analyzes representations of priestly hats, which served as status markers for elites portrayed as legitimate spokespersons for Palmyrene culture. Lucinda Dirven (*Religion in Hatra and the creation of local Parthian identity*, pp. 119–150) advocates the existence of a shared Arsacid culture in peripheral regions of the Parthian Empire, analyzing the case of Hatra. Its material culture shows a blend of Iranian and Semitic traditions, with the Square Temple of the city standing out as a case of local adaptation of an Arsacid cult. Margherita Facella (Velut divisione orbis cum Romanis facta: *Commagene between Rome and Parthia*, pp. 151–172) focuses on Commagene and, particularly, on Zeugma. Throughout her study, she addresses the issue of fixing the Roman-Parthian border along the Euphrates, rejecting its restrictive nature. Instead, she depicts a kingdom permeable to the flow of people, ideas, and goods, which fostered the consolidation of both Mesopotamian and Parthian cultural elements, the latter filtered through various local cultures.

Michaela Konrad (*Die Klientelkönige von Emesa: Identität und identitäter Wandel im Spiegel der materiellen Quellen*, pp. 173–220) discusses the self-representation of the monarchs of Emesa. Based on her study of the necropolis of Abū Ṣābū, she argues that the Emesan rulers deployed a "survival strategy" externalized through iconography. This consisted of projecting an identity acceptable to both their Roman patrons and their subjects, who expected them to provide self-sufficient leadership culturally representative of the Syrian-Mesopotamian tribal structures they were aligned with. Such dualities were common in border regions. In this vein, Julia Hoffmann-Salz (*Lysanias, Tetrarch der Ituräer, als Klientelherrscher Roms im römisch-parthischen Grenzraum*, pp. 221–241) reflects the geopolitical complexity associated with Rome's client kingdoms in the East, analyzing the case of the Ituraean tetrarchy and its rulers, Ptolemaios and Lysanias. These monarchs promoted a "Hellenistic ideology of domination," portraying themselves as desirable partners and exploiting Roman fears of potential shifts in loyalty to expand their client autonomy. This situation, coupled with competition from neighbouring political actors, explains the hostility with which sources describe their activities. Ernst Baltrusch's (*Augustus, Herodes und Syllaios: Neue Ordnungsvorstellungen und ihre Umsetzung im Grenzraum zwischen zwei Imperien,* pp. 243–268) contribution focuses on regional rivalries, specifically addressing the competition between Herod and Syllaios. Baltrusch situates their conflict within the emerging *Imperium Romanum* of Augustus, a system with global ambitions and, therefore, a *sine fine* character. This condition was ambiguous in "soft" frontier zones, such as the Euphrates, where regulation was uncertain. Based on this premise, he addresses the mechanisms for integrating these client princes into imperial structures and their role in consolidating a new order for international relations, legally regulated by a sort of Roman *ius gentium*.

The following chapters shift their focus to the kingdoms of the Caucasus. Giorgi Ugulava (*Die geopolitische Bedeutung Iberiens zwischen Rom und Parthien* (*35-68 n. Chr.*), pp. 269–287) examines the case of Iberia, prioritizing its role during the first century. In his view, Rome used Iberian monarchs, who also found advantages in their relationship with the *Urbs*, as a tool to exert pressure on their main rivals in the Caucasian theater: the Parthian Empire and Armenia. Additionally, the *amicitia* with Iberia provided Rome with a valuable ally for indirectly managing other interests in the region, such as overseeing trade routes or controlling the mountain passes that filtered the movement of nomadic tribes. Timo Stickler (*Das Epitaph für den iberischen Prinzen Amazaspos*, pp. 289–312) unravels the epitaph of the Iberian prince Amazaspos, reportedly transferred from Nisibis to Rome, offering a novel interpretation. He links the piece to the spectacles organized by Antoninus Pius in Rome to celebrate the reception of the Iberian king Pharasmanes II in AD 141, which culminated in an agreement that resolved concerns about Iberian policy since the end of Hadrian's reign. Stickler identifies a combination of barbarian and Homeric elements in the depiction of Amazaspos in the inscription, creating symbolism that exemplified the ties between the Iberians and the Romans. Murtazali Gadjiev (*Nero's Caspian Campaign: A Fresh Look*, pp. 313–327) investigates the motivations behind Nero's expedition against the Caspian Gates in AD 68. After analyzing the two versions of the episode provided by Pliny the Elder and Tacitus, he hypothesizes that the true aim was the pacification of the Alanic confederations, which had begun to settle in the Dagestan region. Their emergence in Caucasian geopolitics threatened Rome's political and commercial interests in the area.

Stefan Hauser (*Imagined Communities: Die Messene, ein Grenzfall im Spannungsfeld moderner Vorurteile*, pp. 329–355) shifts his attention to another region, assessing the status of Mesene as a contested space between the Romans and Parthians. In his contribution, he refutes theories suggesting a client-state relationship with Rome. In his view, Mesene "was an integral part" of an Arsacid kingdom defending vital commercial interests in the region. Furthermore, Hauser interprets the conflict between Meredates and Vologases III as an internal struggle among the Arsacids, independent of the actions of Attambelos VII—who was allegedly loyal to Rome—during the Trajanic period. Continuing with the Parthian Empire, Marek Jan Olbrycht (*The Arsacid Empire and Its Internal Structure in the First Century*, pp. 357–369) examines its complex structure. He highlights factors often overlooked by Western academia, such as the alignment of great clans with dynastic lines of the House of Arsaces as a destabilizing factor in imperial politics, the prominence of peripheral kingdoms, and the ongoing challenges the "King of Kings" faced along the eastern borders. Olbrycht analyzes how these issues shaped shifts in political strategy from the reign of Artabanus II to that of Vologases I.

Udo Hartmann (*Die parthische Niederlage bei Dura-Europos*, pp. 371–411) explores the Battle of Europos, a key Roman victory during the war against the Parthians under Lucius Verus, omitted by almost all classical sources except Lucian of Samosata. After an exhaustive review of the available evidence and the context of the period, Hartmann confirms that the battle took place in the Parthian fortress of Dura-Europos, located on the middle Euphrates. It was there that Avidius Cassius defeated the forces of Vologases III. This revealed the shortcomings caused by the absence of a permanent Parthian army and halted the aggressive foreign policy the Parthians had been pursuing in the West. Michał

Marciak (*Roman Itineraries and Crossing Points of the Upper Tigris in Antiquity*, pp. 413–420) provides a topographical contribution, aiming to locate the point where Emperor Trajan crossed the upper Tigris with his famous pontoon bridge. After reviewing the regional topography and limited archaeological evidence, he argues that Cizre is the most probable location.

Kai Ruffing (*Die Grenze zwischen dem* imperium Romanum *und dem Partherreich: ein Wirtschaftsraum*?, pp. 421–440) delves into the economic spaces along the Roman-Parthian borders. He attributes a special commercial dynamism to these zones due to, among other factors, the flow of trade and the constant presence of military forces. Particular attention is given to Dura-Europos, a prime example of the advantages and risks this situation posed for cities in the region, which were vulnerable to disruptions in peaceful coexistence between the empires. Ruffing also minimizes the economic impact of the Parthian forces compared to their Roman counterparts in the border regions, citing the absence of a permanent army. Andreas Klingenberg (*Grenzüberschreitende Religionskontakte an der Ostgrenze des römischen Reiches* (*Juden, Christen, Zoroastrier*), pp. 441–462) investigates religious contacts in border regions. His study of cultural exchanges and religious synergies between Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians, facilitated by their movement through Roman and Iranian domains, enables him to challenge rigid border delineations and the often-described antagonism between the two empires.

Julia Wilker (*A Group of Its Own. Eastern Client Kings and the Imperial Elite under the Early Empire*, pp. 463–480) studies the rise and fall of Rome's client dynasties. She covers the responsibilities of these rulers, such as mediating in conflicts with the Parthians, promoting the imperial cult, or providing resources, as well as their interaction with Roman power and their modes of representation. Wilker also explores how these rulers were perceived by provincial dignitaries and their own subjects. These rulers became part of the imperial elites while retaining identity traits that increased their influence and utility. The situation changed by the end of the Flavian era, when they were assimilated into a diversified Roman aristocracy, losing their particular value. Martin Joachim Kümmel (*(K)eine Sprachgrenze: Westmitteliranische Varietäten im Spiegel der Nachbarsprachen*, pp. 481–494) delves into a final form of cross-border exchange, focusing on linguistic aspects. He analyzes the bidirectional influences between various languages and certain dialects of Western Iran. In this regard, he notes the dominance of Parthian during the Arsacid period, along with the presence of some Persian forms from earlier stages.

Both the diversity of approaches applied and the quality of the chapters compiled make this monograph one of the most prominent recent contributions in the study of Roman-Parthian relations. Despite the thematic and methodological variety, a common thread can be discerned, which revolves around certain core ideas. First, there is a clear intent to reflect the inherent heterogeneity of frontier contexts. In this regard, the very essence of the frontier, which is nothing more than an artificial historiographical construct, acquires a new dimension, as its permeable and flexible nature is adopted as a conceptual premise. This is a polyhedral perspective, which more accurately reflects the reality of the time and dispenses with more limited notions such as Romanization.

The projection of these contacts in the work is also noteworthy. Throughout the chapters, the many actors involved in frontier dynamics become evident. Related to this, the work explores the relationships of dependence and interdependence among local, regional,

and imperial elites, each with their own often dual interests, as well as their impact on the civilian population and nomadic groups. Another recurring element is the commitment to presenting the Roman and Parthian perspectives on equal footing. Attention to the Arsacid world reveals factors traditionally overlooked in Western academia, which are crucial for a comprehensive understanding of their relations. These include the Parthian position in international trade, the pronounced autonomy of their vassals, the sociocultural influences on peripheral states, and the constant pressures they faced on their eastern borders.

To address these issues, the monograph uses an interdisciplinary methodology, which is undoubtedly one of its most commendable features. Beyond specific research methods, this richness is channeled through an extraordinary range of sources and records, whose diversity is evident not only in their geographical origins but also in their nature. Given the evocative reflections prompted by the work, it might have been useful to include a contribution focusing on the dynamics of other contemporary border regions, such as the Rhine and Danube in the Roman context, or Hyrcania and Central Asia in the Parthian case. This would have provided an interesting counterpoint, allowing for a comparison of the arguments with the realities of other regions and identifying parallels and divergences. The monograph clearly shows that the Roman-Parthian frontier was a setting that encouraged confluence and exchange, a reality that transcended the geopolitical conflicts between the two powers and opens up new avenues for future research. Its depth, originality, and rigor make it an essential reference for scholars of Roman-Iranian international relations.

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